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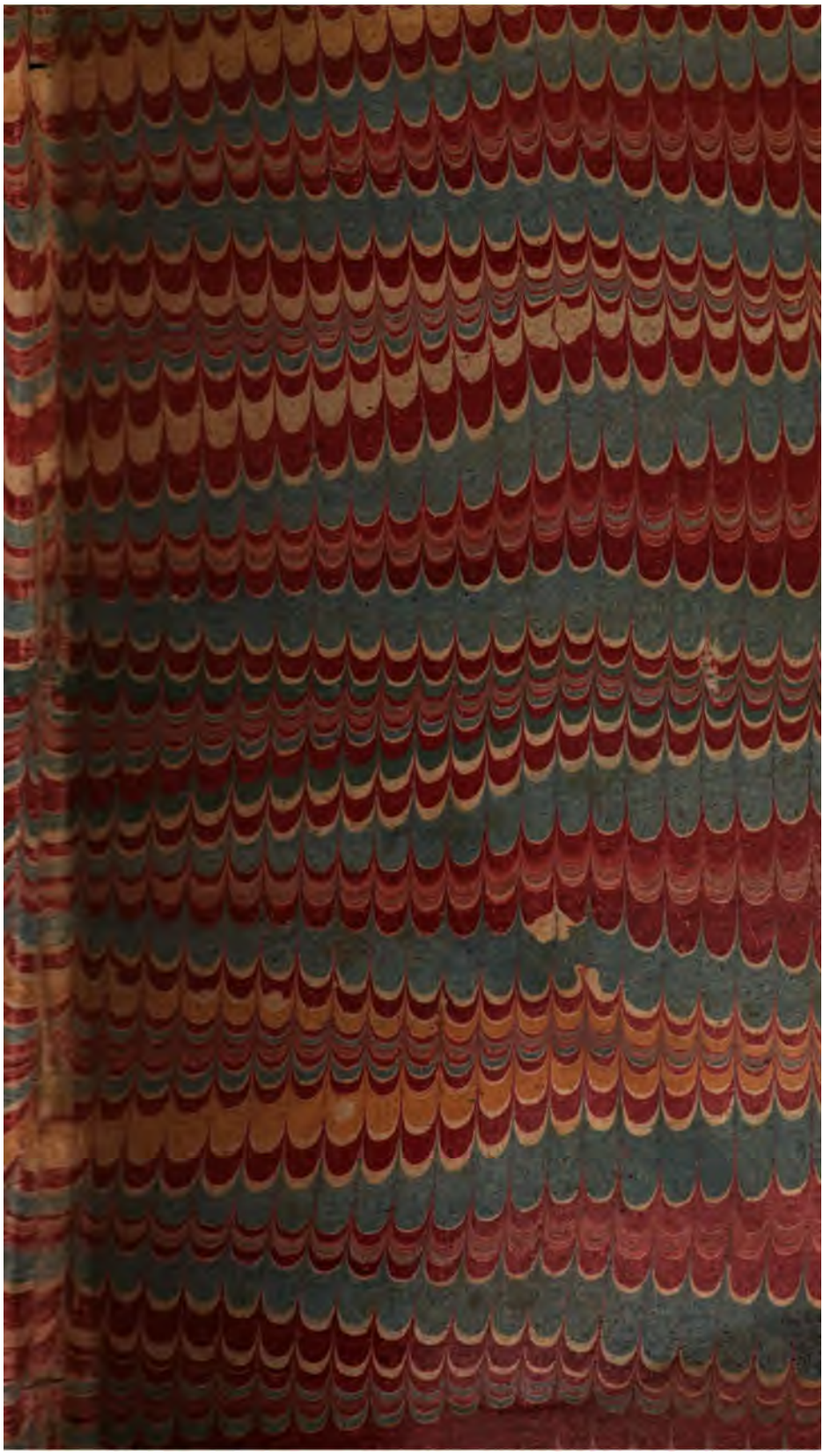

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PLUTARCH's

LIVES.

VOL. III.

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PLUTARCH'S

LIVES,

TRANSLATED from the ORIGINAL GREEK,

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL;

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

By JOHN LANGHORNE, D. D.
AND
WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M. A.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

PHILOPOEMEN.

AT Mantinea there was a man of great quality and power named * Caſſander, who, being obliged, by a reverſe of fortune, to quit his own country, went and ſettled at Megalopolis. He was induced to fix there, chiefly by the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and † Crauſis the father of Philopoemen, who was in all reſpects an extraordinary man. While his friend lived, he had all that he could wiſh; and being deſirous, after his death, to make ſome return for his hoſpitality, he educated his orphan ſon, in

* Pauſanias calls him *Cleander*; and ſome manuſcripts of Plutarch agree with him. So it is alſo in the tranſlation of Guarini.

† Craugis in Pauſanias; in the inſcription of a ſtatue of Philopoemen at Tegeae; and in an ancient collection of epigrams.

in the ſame manner as Homer ſays Achilles was educated by Phoenix, and formed him from his infancy to generous ſentiments and royal virtues.

But when he was paſt the years of childhood, * Ecdemus and Demophanes had the principal care of him. They were both Megalopolitans; who, having learned the academic philoſophy of † Arceſilaus, applied it, above all the men of their time, to action and affairs of ſtate. They delivered their country from tyranny, by providing perſons privately to take off Ariſtodemus: they were aſſiſting to Aratus in driving out Nicocles the tyrant of Sicyon: and, at the requeſt of the people of Cyrene, whoſe government was in great diſorder, they ſailed thither, ſettled it on the foundation of good laws, and thoroughly regulated the commonwealth. But, among all their great actions, they valued themſelves moſt on the education of Philopoemen, as having rendered him, by the principles of philoſophy, a common benefit to Greece. And indeed, as he came the laſt of ſo many excellent generals, Greece loved him extremely, as the child of her old age, and, as his reputation increaſed, inlarged his power. For which reaſon a certain Roman calls him *the laſt of the Greeks*, meaning that Greece had not produced one great man, or one that was worthy of her, after him.

His viſage was not very ‡ homely, as ſome imagine it to have been; for we ſee his ſtatue ſtill remaining at Delphi. As for the miſtake of his hoſteſs at Megara, it is ſaid to be owing to his eaſineſs of behaviour and the ſimplicity of his garb. She having word brought that the general of the Achaeans was coming to her houſe, was in great care and hurry to provide his

* In Pauſanias their names are Ecdelus and Megalophanes.

† Arceſilaus was founder of the middle Academy, and made ſome alteration in the doctrine which had obtained.

‡ Pauſanias aſſures us that his viſage was homely, but at the ſame time declares, that in point of ſize and ſtrength no man in Peloponneſus exceeded him.

his ſupper, her huſband happening to be out of the way. In the mean time Philopoemen came, and, as his habit was ordinary, ſhe took him for one of his own ſervants, or for an harbinger, and deſired him to aſſiſt her in the buſineſs of the kitchen. He preſently threw off his cloak, and began to cleave ſome wood; when the maſter of the houſe returning, and ſeeing him ſo employed, ſaid, "What is "the meaning of this, Philopoemen?" He replied, in broad Doric, "I am paying the fine of my "deformity." Titus Flaminius rallying him one day upon his make, ſaid, "What fine hands and "legs you have! but then you have no belly:" and he was indeed very ſlender in the waiſt. But this raillery might rather be referred to the condition of his fortune: for he had good ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, but very often wanted money to pay them. Theſe ſtories are ſubjects of diſputations in the ſchools.

As to his manners; we find that his purſuits of honour were too much attended with roughneſs and paſſion. Epaminondas was the perſon whom he propoſed his pattern; and he ſucceeded in imitating his activity, his ſhrewdneſs, and contempt of riches; but his choleric, contentious humour prevented his attaining to the mildneſs, the gravity and candour of that great man in political diſputes; ſo that he ſeemed rather fit for war, than for the civil adminiſtration. Indeed, from a child he was fond of every thing in the military way, and readily entered into the exerciſes which tended to that purpoſe, thoſe of riding, for inſtance, and handling of arms. As he ſeemed well formed for wreſtling too, his friends and governors adviſed him to improve himſelf in that art; which gave him occaſion to aſk, whether that might be conſiſtent with his proficiency as a ſoldier? They told him the truth; that the habit of body and manner of life, the diet and exerciſe of a ſoldier and a wreſtler were entirely different: that the wreſtler

muſt have much ſleep and full meals, ſtated times of exerciſe and reſt, every little departure from his rules being very prejudicial to him; whereas the ſoldier ſhould be prepared for the moſt irregular changes of living, and ſhould chiefly endeavour to bring himſelf to bear the want of food and ſleep, without difficulty. Philopoemen hearing this, not only avoided and derided the exerciſe of wreſtling himſelf; but afterwards, when he came to be general, to the utmoſt of his power exploded the whole art, by every mark of diſgrace and expreſſion of contempt; ſatisfied that it rendered perſons, who were the moſt fit for war, quite uſeleſs and unable to fight on neceſſary occaſions.

When his governors and preceptors had quitted their charge, he engaged in thoſe private incurſions into Laconia which the city of Megalopolis made for the ſake of booty; and in theſe he was ſure to be the firſt to march out, and the laſt to return.

His leiſure he ſpent either in the chace, which increaſed both his ſtrength and activity, or in the tillage of the field. For he had a handſome eſtate twenty furlongs from the city, to which he went every day after dinner, or after ſupper; and, at night, he threw himſelf upon an ordinary mattraſs, and ſlept as one of the labourers. Early in the morning he roſe and went to work along with his vine-dreſſers or plowmen; after which he returned to the town, and employed his time about the public affairs with his friends and with the magiſtrates. What he gained in the wars he laid out upon horſes or arms, or in the redeeming of captives: but he endeavoured to improve his own eſtate, the juſteſt way in the world, by agriculture I mean.* Nor did he apply himſelf to it in a curſory manner, but in full conviction

* Columella ſays agriculture is next a-kin to philoſophy. It does, indeed, afford a perſon who is capable of ſpeculation, an opportunity of meditating on nature; and ſuch meditations enlarge the mind.

tion that the ſureſt way not to touch what belongs to others, is to take care of one's own.

He ſpent ſome time in hearing the diſcourſes and ſtudying the writings of philoſophers; but ſelected ſuch as he thought might aſſiſt his progreſs in virtue. Among the poetical images in Homer, he attended to thoſe which ſeemed to excite and encourage valour: and as to other authors, he was moſt converſant in the *Tactics* of *Evangelus, and in the hiſtories of Alexander; being perſuaded that learning ought to conduce to action, and not be conſidered as mere paſtime and an uſeleſs fund for talk. In the ſtudy of *Tactics*, he neglected thoſe plans and diagrams that are drawn upon paper, and exemplified the rules in the field; conſidering with himſelf as he travelled, and pointing out to thoſe about him, the difficulties of ſteep or broken ground; and how the ranks of an army muſt be extended or cloſed, according to the difference made by rivers, ditches and defiles.

He ſeems, indeed, to have ſet rather too great a value on military knowledge, embracing war as the moſt extenſive exerciſe of virtue, and deſpiſing thoſe that were not verſed in it, as perſons entirely uſeleſs.

He was now thirty years old, when † Cleomenes, king of the Lacedaemonians, ſurpriſed Megalopolis in the night, and having forced the guards, entered and ſeized the market-place. Philopoemen ran to ſuccour the inhabitants, but was not able to drive out the enemy, though he fought with the moſt determined

* This author is mentioned by Arrian, who alſo wrote a diſcourſe on Tactics. He obſerves that the treatiſe of Evangelus, as well as thoſe of ſeveral other writers on that ſubject, were become of little uſe in his time, becauſe they had omitted ſeveral things as ſufficiently known in their days, which however then wanted explication. This may ſerve as a caution to future writers on this and ſuch like ſubjects.

† Cleomenes made himſelf maſter of Megalopolis in the ſecond year of the hundred and thirty-ninth Olympiad, which was the two hundred and twenty-firſt before the chriſtian æra.

mined and desperate valour. He prevailed, however, so far as to give the people opportunity to steal out of the town, by maintaining the combat with the pursuers, and drawing Cleomenes upon himself, so that he retired the last with difficulty, and after prodigious efforts; being wounded, and having his horse killed under him. When they had gained Messene, Cleomenes made them an offer of their city with their lands and goods. Philopoemen perceiving they were glad to accept the proposal, and in haste to return, strongly opposed it, representing to them in a set speech, that Cleomenes did not want to restore them their city, but to be master of the citizens, in order that he might be more secure of keeping the place: that he could not sit still long to watch empty houses and walls, for the very solitude would force him away. By this argument he turned the Megalopolitans from their purpose, but at the same time furnished Cleomenes with a pretence to plunder the town and demolish the greatest part of it, and to march off loaded with booty.

Soon after, Antigonus came down to assist the Achaeans against Cleomenes; and finding that he had possessed himself of the heights of Sellasia, and blocked up the passages, Antigonus drew up his army near him, with a resolution to force him from his post. Philopoemen, with his citizens, was placed among the cavalry, supported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous and gallant body of men, who closed that extremity. They had orders to wait quietly, 'till from the other wing, where the king fought in person, they should see a red robe lifted up upon the point of a spear. The Achaeans kept their ground, as they were directed: but the Illyrian officers with their corps attempted to break in upon the Lacedaemonians. Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, seeing this opening made in the enemy's army, immediately ordered a party of his light-armed infantry, to wheel about and attack the rear of the Illyrians, thus separated

rated from the horſe. This being put in execution, and the Illyrians harraſſed and broken, Philopoemen perceived that it would be no difficult matter to drive off that light-armed party, and that the occaſion called for it. Firſt he mentioned the thing to the king's officers, but they rejected the hint, and conſidered him as no better than a madman, his reputation being not yet reſpectable enough to juſtify ſuch a movement. He, therefore, with his Megalopolitans, falling upon that light-armed corps himſelf, at the firſt encounter put them in confuſion, and ſoon after routed them with great ſlaughter. Deſirous yet farther to encourage Antigonus's troops, and quickly to penetrate into the enemy's army which was now in ſome diſorder, he quitted his horſe: and advancing on foot, in his horſeman's coat of mail and other heavy accoutrements, upon rough uneven ground, that was full of ſprings and bogs, he was making his way with extreme difficulty, when he had both his thighs ſtruck through with a javelin, ſo that the point came through on the other ſide, and the wound was great, though not mortal. At firſt he ſtood ſtill as if he had been ſhackled, not knowing what method to take. For the thong in the middle of the javelin rendered it difficult to be drawn out; nor would any about him venture to do it. At the ſame time the fight being at the hotteſt, and likely to be ſoon over, honour and indignation puſhed him on to take his ſhare in it; and therefore, by moving his legs this way and that, he broke the ſtaff, and then ordered the pieces to be pulled out. Thus ſet free, he ran, ſword in hand, through the firſt ranks, to charge the enemy; at the ſame time animating the troops, and firing them with emulation.

Antigonus, having gained the victory, to try his Macedonian officers, demanded of them, "Why "they had brought on the cavalry before he gave them the ſignal?" By way of apology they ſaid, "They were obliged, againſt their will, to come to

" action, becauſe a young man of Megalopolis had " begun the attack too ſoon." " That young man," replied Antigonus ſmiling, " has performed the of- " fice of an experienced general."

This action, as we may eaſily imagine, lifted Philopoemen into great reputation. ſo that Antigonus was very deſirous of having his ſervice in the wars, and offered him a conſiderable command with great appointments; but he declined it, becauſe he knew he could not bear to be under the direction of another. Not chuſing, however, to lie idle, and hearing there was a war in Crete, he ſailed thither, to exerciſe and improve his military talents. When he had ſerved there a good while, along with a ſet of brave men, who were not only verſed in all the ſtratagems of war, but temperate beſides, and ſtrict in their manner of living, he returned with ſo much renown to the Achaeans, that they immediately appointed him general of horſe. He found that the cavalry made uſe of ſmall and mean horſes, which they picked up as they could when they were called to a campaign; that many of them ſhunned the wars, and ſent others in their ſtead; * and that ſhameful ignorance of ſervice, with, it's conſequence, timidity, prevailed among them all. The former generals had connived at this, becauſe, it being a degree of honour among the Achaeans to ſerve on horſeback, the cavalry had great power in the commonwealth, and conſiderable influence in the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments. But Philopoemen would not yield to ſuch conſiderations, or grant them the leaſt indulgence. Inſtead of that, he applied to the ſeveral towns, and to each of the young men in particular, rouſing them to a ſenſe of honour, puniſhing

* Δειμν δε απειδιαν μετα ατολμιας παντων ισχυν — The latin tranſlation, *eſſet etiam ſingularis omnium cum ignavia inertia*, being a little obſcure in this paſſage, though the Greek is very clear, the former Engliſh tranſlator entirely omitted it. The paſſage, however, is of importance, and well deſerves the conſideration of every military man.

niſhing where neceſſity required, and practiſing them in exerciſe, reviews and mock-battles in places of the greateſt reſort. By theſe means in a little time he brought them to ſurpriſing ſtrength and ſpirit; and, what is of moſt conſequence in diſcipline, rendered them ſo light and quick, that all their evolutions and movements, whether performed ſeparately or together, were executed with ſo much readineſs and addreſs, that there motion was like that of one body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the great * battle which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans near the river Lariſſus, Demophantus, general of the Elean horſe, advanced before the lines, at full ſpeed, againſt Philopoemen. Philopoemen, preventing his blow, with a puſh of his ſpear brought him dead to the ground. The enemy ſeeing Demophantus fall, immediately fled. And now Philopoemen was univerſally celebrated, as not inferior to the young in perſonal valour, nor to the old in prudence, and as equally well qualified both to fight and to command.

Aratus was, indeed, the firſt who raiſed the commonwealth of the Achaeans to dignity and power. For, whereas before they were in a low condition, diſperſed in unconnected cities, he united them in one body, and gave them a moderate civil government worthy of Greece. And as it happens in running waters, that when a few ſmall bodies ſtop, others ſtick to them, and one part ſtrengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and ſolid maſs, ſo it was with Greece. At a time when ſhe was weak and eaſily broken, diſperſed as ſhe was in a variety of cities, which ſtood each upon its own bottom, the Achaeans firſt united themſelves, and then drawing ſome of the neighbouring cities to them by aſſiſting them

† This battle was fought the fourth year of the hundred and forty-ſecond Olympiad, when Philopoemen was in his forty-fourth year.

them to expel their tyrants, while others voluntarily joined them for the ſake of that unanimity which they beheld in ſo well-conſtituted a government; they conceived the great deſign of forming Peloponneſus into one community. It is true, that while Aratus lived, they attended the motions of the Macedonians, and made their court firſt to Ptolemy, and afterwards to Antigonus and Philip, who all had a great ſhare in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopoemen had taken upon him the adminiſtration, the Achaeans finding themſelves reſpectable enough to oppoſe their ſtrongeſt adverſaries, ceaſed to call in foreign protectors. As for Aratus, not being ſo fit for conflicts in the field, he managed moſt of his affairs by addreſs, by moderation, and by the friendſhips he had formed with foreign princes, as we have related in his life. But Philopoemen, being a great warrior, vigorous and bold, and ſucceſsful withal in the firſt battles that he fought, raiſed the ambition of the Achaeans together with their power; for under him they were uſed to conquer.

In the firſt place he corrected the errors of the Achaeans in drawing up their forces and in the make of their arms. For hitherto they had made uſe of bucklers which were eaſy to manage on account of their ſmalneſs, but too narrow to cover the body, and lances that were much ſhorter than the Macedonian pikes; for which reaſon they anſwered the end in fighting at a diſtance, but were of little uſe in cloſe battle. As for the order of battle, they had not been accuſtomed to draw up in a * *ſpiral* form, but

* The Macedonian phalanx occaſionally altered their form from the ſquare to the *ſpiral* or orbicular, and ſometimes to that of the *cuneus* or wedge.

Ταξις εις σπειραν might alſo be tranſlated *to draw up in platoons*, the word σπειρα derived from σπαω, ſignifying a *Band* or *Platoon*. But then in the original it would rather have been σπειρας than σπειραν: beſides, the context ſeems to determine it to the former ſignification. It was neceſſary for the phalanx to throw themſelves in-

but in the ſquare battalion, which having neither a front of pikes, nor ſhields, fit to lock together, like that of the Macedonians, was eaſily penetrated and broken. Philopoemen altered both; perſuading them, inſtead of the buckler and lance, to take the ſhield and pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs and legs, and, inſtead of a light and deſultory manner of fighting, to adopt a cloſe and firm one. After he had brought the youth to wear complete armour, and on that account to conſider themſelves as invincible, his next ſtep was to reform them with reſpect to luxury and love of expence. He could not, indeed, entirely cure them of the diſtemper with which they had long been infected, the vanity of appearance, for they had vied with each other in fine clothes, in purple carpets, and in the rich ſervice of their tables. But he began with diverting their love of ſhow, from ſuperfluous things to thoſe that were uſeful and honourable, and ſoon prevailed with them to retrench their daily expence upon their perſons, and to give into a magnificence in their arms and the whole equipage of war. The ſhops therefore were ſeen ſtrewed with plate broken in pieces, while breaſt-plates were gilt with the gold, and ſhields and bridles ſtudded with the ſilver. On the parade the young men were managing horſes, or exerciſing their arms. The women were ſeen adorning helmets and creſts with various colours, or embroidering military veſts both for the cavalry and infantry. The very ſight of theſe things inflaming their courage, and calling forth their vigour; made them venturous, and ready to face any danger. For much expence in other things that attract our eyes tempts to luxury, and too often produces effeminacy; the feaſting of the ſenſes relaxing the vigour of the mind; but in this inſtance it ſtrengthens and improves it. Thus Homer repreſents Achilles, at the ſight of his new armour, exulting with

into the *ſpiral* or orbicular form, whenever they were ſurrounded, in order that they might face and fight the enemy on every ſide.

with joy *, and burning with impatience to uſe it. When Philopoemen had perſuaded the youth thus to arm and to adorn themſelves, he muſtered and trained them continually, and they entered with pride and pleaſure into his exerciſe. For they were greatly delighted with the new form of the battalion, which was ſo cemented that it ſeemed impoſſible to break it. And their arms became eaſy and light in the wearing, becauſe they were charmed with their richneſs and beauty, and they longed for nothing more than to uſe them againſt the enemy, and to try them in a real encounter.

At that time the Achaeans were at war with Machanidas the tyrant of Lacedaemon, who with a powerful army was watching his opportunity to ſubdue all Peloponneſus. As ſoon as news was brought that he was fallen upon the Mantineans, Philopoemen took the field, and marched againſt him. They drew up their armies near Mantinea, each having a good number of mercenaries in pay, beſide the whole force of their reſpective cities. The engagement being begun, Machanidas with his foreign troops attacked and put to flight the ſpearmen and the Tarentines, who were placed in the Achaean front; but afterwards, inſtead of falling upon that part of the army who ſtood their ground, and breaking them, he went upon the † purſuit of the fugitives; and when he ſhould have endeavoured to rout the main body of the Achaeans, left his own uncovered. Philopoemen, after

* She drops the radiant burthen on the ground;
Clang the ſtrong arms, and ring the ſhores around.
Back ſhrink the myrmidons with dread ſurprize,
And from the broad effulgence turn their eyes.
Unmov'd, the hero kindles at the ſhow,
And feels with rage divine his boſom glow;
From his fierce eye-balls living flames expire,
And flaſh inceſſant like a ſtream of fire.

Pope, II. 19th.

† See Polybius, Book the xith.

after ſo indifferent a beginning, made light of the misfortune, and repreſented it as no great matter, though the day ſeemed to be loſt. But when he ſaw what an error the enemy committed, in quitting their foot, and going upon the purſuit, by which they left him a good opening, he did not try to ſtop them in their career after the fugitives, but ſuffered them to paſs by. When the purſuers were got at a great diſtance, he ruſhed upon the Lacedaemonian infantry, now left unſupported by their right wing. Stretching, therefore, to the left, he took them in flank, deſtitute as they were of a general, and far from expecting to come to blows; for they thought Machanidas abſolutely ſure of victory, when they ſaw him upon the purſuit.

After he had routed this infantry with great ſlaughter (for it is ſaid that four thouſand Lacedaemonians were left dead upon the ſpot,) he marched againſt Machanidas, who was now returning, with his Mercenaries, from the purſuit. There was a broad and deep ditch between them, where both ſtrove a while, the one to get over and fly, the other to hinder him. Their appearance was not like that of a combat between two generals, but between two wild beaſts, (or rather between a hunter and a wild beaſt) whom neceſſity reduces to fight. Philopoemen was the great hunter. The tyrant's horſe being ſtrong and ſpirited, and violently ſpurred on both ſides, ventured to leap into the ditch; and was raiſing his fore-feet in order to gain the oppoſite bank, when Simmias and Polyaenus, who always fought by the ſide of Philopoemen, both rode up and levelled their ſpears againſt Machanidas. But Philopoemen prevented them; and perceiving that the horſe, with his head high reared, covered the tyrant's body, he turned his own a little, and puſhing his ſpear at him with all his force, tumbled him into the ditch. The Achaeans, in admiration of this exploit and of his conduct in the whole action,

action, ſet up his ſtatue in braſs at Delphi, in the attitude in which he killed the tyrant.

It is reported, that at the Nemean Games, a little after he had gained the battle of Mantinea, Philopoemen then choſen general the ſecond time, and at leiſure on account of that great feſtival, firſt cauſed his phalanx, in the beſt order and attire, to paſs in review before the Greeks, and to make all the movements which the art of war teaches, with the utmoſt vigour and agility. After this, he entered the theatre, while the muſicians were contending for the prize. He was attended by the youth in their military cloaks and ſcarlet veſts. Theſe young men were all well made, of the ſame age and ſtature, and though they ſhewed great reſpect for their general, yet they ſeemed not a little elated themſelves with the many glorious battles they had fought. In the moment that they entered, Pylades the muſician happened to be ſinging to his lyre the *Perſae* of * Timotheus, and was pronouncing this verſe with which it begins,

The palm of liberty for Greece I won,

when the people, ſtruck with the grandeur of the poetry ſung by a voice equally excellent, from every part of the theatre turned their eyes upon Philopoemen, and welcomed him with the loudeſt plaudits. They caught in Idea the ancient dignity of Greece, and in their preſent confidence aſpired to the lofty ſpirit of former times.

As young horſes require their accuſtomed riders, and are wild and unruly when mounted by ſtrangers, ſo it was with the Achaeans. When their forces were under any other commander, on every great emergency, they grew diſcontented, and looked about for Philopoemen; and if he did but make his appearance, they were ſoon ſatisfied again and fitted for action by the confidence which they placed in him; well

* Timotheus was a Dithyrambic poet, who flouriſhed about the ninety-fifth Olympiad, three hundred and ninety-eight years before the chriſtian æra.

well knowing that he was the only general whom their enemies durſt not look in the face, and that they were ready to tremble at his very name.

Philip, king of Macedon, thinking he could eaſily bring the Achaeans under him again, if Philopoemen was out of the way, privately ſent ſome perſons to Argos to aſſaſſinate him. But this treachery was timely diſcovered, and brought upon Philip the hatred and contempt of all the Greeks. The Boeotians were beſieging Megara, and hoped to be ſoon maſters of the place, when, a report, though not a true one, being ſpread among them, that Philopoemen was approaching to the relief of the beſieged, they left their ſcaling-ladders already planted againſt the walls, and took to flight. Nabis, who was tyrant of Lacedaemon after Machanidas, had taken Meſſene by ſurprize. And Philopoemen, who was out of command, endeavoured to perſuade Lyſippus, then general of the Achaeans, to ſuccour the Meſſeneans: but not prevailing with him, becauſe, he ſaid, the enemy was within, and the place irrecoverably loſt, he went himſelf; taking with him his own citizens, who waited neither for form of law nor commiſſion, but followed him upon this natural principle, that he who excels ſhould always command. When he was got pretty near, Nabis was informed of it; and not daring to wait, though his army lay quartered in the town, ſtole out at another gate with his troops, and marched off precipitately, thinking himſelf happy if he could eſcape. He did indeed eſcape, but Meſſene was reſcued.

Thus far every thing is great in the character of Philopoemen. But as for his going a ſecond time into Crete, at the requeſt of the Gortynians, who were engaged in war, and wanted him for general, it has been blamed, either as an act of cowardice, in deſerting his own country when ſhe was diſtreſſed by Nabis, or as an unſeaſonable ambition to ſhew himſelf to ſtrangers. And it is true, the Megalopolitans were

were then ſo hard preſſed, that they were obliged to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, and to ſow corn in their very ſtreets; the enemy having laid waſte their lands, and encamped almoſt at their gates. Philopoemen, therefore, by entering into the ſervice of the Cretans at ſuch a time, and taking a command beyond ſea, furniſhed his enemies with a pretence to accuſe him of baſely flying from the war at home.

Yet it is ſaid, that as the Achaeans had choſen other generals, Philopoemen, being unemployed, beſtowed his leiſure upon the Gortynians, and took a command among them at their requeſt. For he had an extreme averſion to idleneſs, and was deſirous, above all things, to keep his talents, as a ſoldier and a general, in conſtant practice. This was clear from what he ſaid of Ptolemy. Some were commending that prince for daily ſtudying the art of war, and improving his ſtrength by martial exerciſe: "Who," "ſaid he, "can praiſe a prince of his age, that is "always preparing, and never performs?"

The Megalopolitans, highly incenſed at his abſence, and looking upon it as a deſertion, were inclined to paſs an outlawry againſt him. But the Achaeans prevented them by ſending their general * Ariſtaenetus to Megalopolis, who, though he differed with Philopoemen about matters of government, would not ſuffer him to be declared an outlaw. Philopoemen, finding himſelf neglected by his citizens, drew off from them ſeveral of the neighbouring boroughs, and inſtructed them to allege that they were not comprized in their taxations, nor originally of their dependencies. By aſſiſting them to maintain this pretext, he leſſened the authority of Megalopolis in the general aſſembly of the Achaeans. But theſe things happened ſome time after.

Whilſt he commanded the Gortynians in Crete, he did not, like a Peloponneſian or Arcadian, make war in an

* Polybius and Livy call him Ariſtaenus.

an open, generous manner; but adopting the Cretan cuſtoms and uſing their artifices and ſleights, their ſtratagems and ambuſhes againſt themſelves, he ſoon ſhewed them that their devices were like the ſhort-ſighted ſchemes of children, when compared with the long reach of an experienced general.

Having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by theſe means, and performed many exploits in that country, he returned to Peloponneſus with honour. Here he found Philip beaten by T. Q. Flaminius, and Nabis engaged in war both with the Romans and Achaeans. He was immediately choſen general of the Achaeans; but venturing to act at ſea, he fell under the ſame misfortune with Epaminondas, he ſaw the great ideas, that had been formed of his courage and conduct, vaniſh, in conſequence of his ill ſucceſs in a naval engagement. Some ſay indeed that Epaminondas was unwilling that his countrymen ſhould have any ſhare of the advantages of the ſea, leſt of good ſoldiers (as * Plato expreſſes it) they ſhould become licentious and diſſolute ſailors; and therefore choſe to return from Aſia and the iſles without effecting any thing. But Philopoemen being perſuaded that his ſkill in the land ſervice would inſure his ſucceſs at ſea, found to his coſt, how much experience contributes to victory, and how much practice adds in all things to our powers. For he was not only worſted in the ſea-fight for want of ſkill; but having fitted up an old ſhip which had been a famous veſſel forty years before, and manned it with his townſmen, it proved ſo leaky that they were in danger of being loſt. Finding that, after this, the enemy deſpiſed him as a man who diſclaimed all pretenſions at ſea, and that they had inſolently laid ſiege to Gythium, he ſet ſail again; and as they did not expect him, but were

* This obſervation occurs in Plato's fourth book *de legibus*; and from this paſſage of Plutarch it appears, that there, inſtead of ναυμαχων, we ſhould read μονιμων. Indeed, the ancient Greek ν, being written thus ϥ, was very like the μ.

diſperſed without any precaution by reaſon of their late victory, he landed in the night, burnt their camp, and killed a great number of them.

A few days after, as he was marching through a difficult paſs, Nabis came ſuddenly upon him. The Achaeans were in great terror, thinking it impoſſible to eſcape out of ſo dangerous a paſſage, which the enemy had already ſeized. But Philopoemen, making a little halt, and ſeeing, at once, the nature of the ground, ſhewed, that ſkill in drawing up an army is the capital point in the art of war. For altering a little the diſpoſition of his forces, and adapting it to the preſent occaſion, without any buſtle he eaſily diſengaged them from the difficulty; and then falling upon the enemy, put them entirely to the rout. When he ſaw that they fled not to the town, but diſperſed themſelves about the country; as the ground was woody and uneven, and on account of the brooks and ditches impracticable for the horſe, he did not go upon the purſuit, but encamped before the evening. Concluding, however, that the fugitives would return as ſoon as it grew dark, and draw up in a ſtraggling manner to the city, he placed in ambuſh by the brooks and hills that ſurrounded it many parties of the Achaeans with their ſwords in their hands. By this means the greateſt part of the troops of Nabis were cut off: For, not returning in a body, but as the chance of flight had diſperſed them, they fell into their enemies' hands, and were caught like ſo many birds, ere they could enter the town.

Philopoemen being received on this account with great honour and applauſe in all the theatres of Greece, it gave ſome umbrage to Flaminius, a man naturally ambitious. For, as a Roman conſul, he thought himſelf entitled to much greater marks of diſtinction among the Achaeans, than a man of Arcadia; and that, as a public benefactor, he was infinitely above him; having by one proclamation ſet free all that part of Greece, which had been enſlaved by Philip

Philip and the * Macedonians. After this, Flaminius made peace with Nabis; and Nabis was aſſaſſinated by the Ætolians. Hereupon, Sparta being in great confuſion, Philopoemen, ſeizing the opportunity, came upon it with his army, and partly by force, partly by perſuaſion, brought that city to join in the Achaean league. The gaining over a city of ſuch dignity and power made him perfectly adored among the Achaeans. And, indeed, Sparta was an acquiſition of vaſt importance to Achaia, of which ſhe was now become a member. It was alſo a grateful ſervice to the principal Lacedaemonians, who hoped now to have him for the guardian of their liberty. For which reaſon, having ſold the houſe and goods of Nabis, by a public decree they gave the money, which amounted to an hundred and twenty talents, to Philopoemen, and determined to ſend it by perſons deputed from their body.

On this occaſion it appeared how clear his integrity was; that he not only ſeemed, but *was* a virtuous man. For not one of the Spartans choſe to ſpeak to a perſon of his character about a preſent; but, afraid of the office, they all excuſed themſelves, and put it upon Timolaus, to whom he was bound by the rights of hoſpitality. Timolaus went to Megalopolis, and was entertained at Philopoemen's houſe; but when he obſerved the gravity of his diſcourſe, the ſimplicity of his diet, and the integrity of his manners quite impregnable to the attacks and deceits of money, he ſaid not a word about the preſent, but having aſſigned another cauſe for his coming, returned home. He was ſent a ſecond time, but could not mention the money. In a third viſit he brought it out with much difficulty, and declared the benevolence of Sparta to him. Philopoemen heard with pleaſure what he had to ſay, but immediately went himſelf to the people of Lacedaemon, and adviſed them not to try to tempt good

* Dacier reads *Lacedaemonians*, but does not mention his authority.

men with money, who were already their friends, and of whoſe virtues they might freely avail themſelves; but to buy and corrupt ill men who oppoſed their meaſures in council, that, thus ſilenced, they might give them the leſs trouble; it being much better to ſtop the mouths of their enemies, than of their friends. Such was Philopoemen's contempt of money.

Some time after, Diophanes, being general of the Achaeans, and hearing that the Lacedaemonians had thoughts of withdrawing from the league, determined to chaſtiſe them. Mean while they prepared for war, and raiſed great commotions in Peloponneſus. Philopoemen tried to appeaſe Diophanes and keep him quiet; repreſenting to him, "That while "* Antiochus and the Romans were contending in "the heart of Greece with two ſuch powerful armies, "an Achaean general ſhould turn his attention to "them; and, inſtead of lighting up a war at "home, ſhould overlook and paſs by ſome real in-"juries." When he found that Diophanes did not hearken to him, but marched along with Flaminius into Laconia, and that they took their route towards Sparta, he did a thing which cannot be vindicated by law and ſtrict juſtice, but which diſcovers a great and noble daring. He got into the town himſelf, and, though but a private man, ſhut the gates againſt an Achaean general and a Roman conſul; healed the diviſions among the Lacedaemonians, and brought them back to the league.

Yet, afterwards, when he was general himſelf, upon ſome new ſubject of complaint againſt that people, he reſtored their exiles, and put eighty citizens to death, as Polybius tells us, or, according to Ariſtocrates, three hundred and fifty. He demoliſhed their walls, took from them great part of their territory, and added it to that of Megalopolis. All who had been

* This ſame year, Caius Livius with the Roman fleet defeated that of Antiochus near Epheſus.

been made free of Sparta by the tyrants, he disfranchiſed, and carried into Achaia; except three thouſand who refuſed to quit the place, and thoſe he ſold for ſlaves. By way of inſult, as it were, upon Sparta, with the money ariſing thence he built a portico in Megalopolis. Purſuing his vengeance againſt that unhappy people who had already ſuffered more than they deſerved, he added one cruel and moſt unjuſt thing to fill up the meaſure of it: he deſtroyed their conſtitution. He aboliſhed the diſcipline of Lycurgus, compelled them to give their children and youth an Achaean education, inſtead of that of their own country; being perſuaded that their ſpirit could never be humbled, while they adhered to the inſtitutions of their great lawgiver. Thus brought, by the weight of their calamities, to have the ſinews of their city cut by Philopoemen, they grew tame and ſubmiſſive. Some time after, indeed, upon application to the Romans, they ſhook off the Achaean cuſtoms, and re-eſtabliſhed their ancient ones, as far as it could be done, after ſo much miſery and corruption.

When the Romans were carrying on the war with Antiochus in Greece, Philopoemen was in a private ſtation. And when he ſaw Antiochus ſit ſtill at Chalcis, and ſpend his time in youthful love and a marriage unſuitable to his years, while the Syrians roamed from town to town without diſcipline and without officers, and minded nothing but their pleaſures, he repined extremely that he was not then general of the Achaeans, and ſcrupled not to declare, that he envied the Romans their victory; "For had I been "in command," ſaid he, "I would have cut them "all in pieces in the taverns." After Antiochus was overcome, the Romans preſſed ſtill harder upon Greece, and hemmed in the Achaeans with their power, the orators too inclined to their intereſt. Under the auſpices of heaven, their ſtrength prevailed over all; and the point was at hand, where fortune, who had long veered, was to ſtand ſtill. In

theſe circumſtances, Philopoemen, like a good pilot, ſtruggled with the waves. Sometimes he was forced to give way a little and yield to the times, but on moſt occaſions maintaining the conflict, he endeavoured to draw all that were conſiderable either for their eloquence or riches, to the ſide of liberty. Ariſtaenetus the Megalopolitan, who had great intereſt among the Achaeans, but always courted the Romans, declared it in council as his opinion, "That they ought "not to be oppoſed or diſobliged in any thing." Philopoemen heard him with ſilent indignation; and at laſt, when he could refrain no longer, ſaid to him, "And why in ſuch haſte, wretched man, to ſee an "end of Greece?" *Manius, the Roman conſul, after the defeat of Antiochus, moved the Achaeans to permit the Lacedaemonian exiles to return, and Titus ſeconded him in his application; but Philopoemen oppoſed it, not out of any ill-will to the exiles, but becauſe he was willing they ſhould be indebted for that benefit to himſelf and the Achaeans, and not to the favour of Titus and the Romans. For the next year, when he was general himſelf, he reſtored them. Thus his gallant ſpirit led him to contend with the prevailing powers.

He was elected general of the Achaeans, the eighth time, when ſeventy years of age; and now he hoped not only to paſs the year of his magiſtracy without war, but the remainder of his life in quiet. For as the force of diſtempers abates with the ſtrength of the body, ſo in the ſtates of Greece the ſpirit of contention failed with their power. Some avenging deity, however, threw him down at laſt, like one who with matchleſs ſpeed, runs over the race and ſtumbles at the goal. It ſeems, that being in company where a certain general was mentioned as an extraordinary man, Philopoemen ſaid, "There was no "great account to be made of a man who ſuffered "himſelf

* Manius Acilius Glabrio.

" himſelf to be taken alive." A few days after this, Dinocrates the Meſſenian, who was particularly on ill terms with Philopoemen, and, indeed, not upon good ones with any one, by reaſon of his profligate and wicked life, found means to draw Meſſene off from the league; and it was alſo ſaid that he was going to ſeize a little place called * Colonis. Philopoemen was then at Argos, ſick of a fever; but upon this news he puſhed to Megalopolis, and reached it in one day, though it was at the diſtance of four hundred furlongs. From thence he preſently drew out a body of horſe, conſiſting of the nobility, but all young men, who, from affection to his perſon and ambition for glory, followed him as volunteers. With theſe he marched towards Meſſene, and meeting Dinocrates on † Evander's hill, he attacked and put him to flight. But five hundred men, who guarded the flat country, ſuddenly coming up, the others, who were routed, ſeeing them, rallied again about the hills. Hereupon, Philopoemen, afraid of being ſurrounded, and deſirous of ſaving his young cavalry, retreated upon rough and difficult ground, while he was in the rear, often turning upon the enemy, and endeavouring to draw them entirely upon himſelf. Yet none of them dared to encounter him; they only ſhouted and rode about him at a diſtance. As he often faced about, and left his main body, on account of his young men, each of whom he was ſollicitous to put out of danger, at laſt he found himſelf alone amidſt a number of the enemy. Even then they durſt not attack him hand to hand, but, hurling their darts at a diſtance, they drove him upon ſteep and craggy places, where he could ſcarce make

* There is no ſuch place known as *Colonis*. Livy (*Lib.* 39.) calls it Corone; and Plutarch probably wrote *Corona*, or *Coronis*. Strabo mentions the latter as a place in the neighbourhood of Meſſene.

† *Evander's* hill is likewiſe unknown. Polybius, and after him Pauſanias, mentions a hill called *Evan* (which name it probably had from the cries of the Bachanals) not far from Meſſene.

his horſe go, though he ſpurred him continually. He was ſtill active through exerciſe, and for that reaſon his age was no hindrance to his eſcape; but being weakened by ſickneſs, and extremely fatigued with his journey, his horſe threw him, now heavy and encumbered, upon the ſtones. His head was wounded with the fall, and he lay a long time ſpeechleſs, ſo that the enemy, thinking him dead, began to turn him, in order to ſtrip him of his arms. But finding that he raiſed his head and opened his eyes, they gathered thick about him, bound his hands behind his back, and led him off with ſuch unworthy treatment and groſs abuſe, as Philopoemen could never have ſuppoſed he ſhould come to ſuffer even from Dinocrates.

The Meſſenians, elated at the news, flocked to the gates. But when they ſaw Philopoemen dragged along in a manner ſo unworthy of the glory of his atchievements and trophies, moſt of them were touched with pity and compaſſion for his misfortune. They ſhed tears, and contemned all human greatneſs as a faithleſs ſupport, as vanity and nothing. Their tears by little and little turned to kind words, and they began to ſay, they ought to remember his former benefits, and the liberty he had procured them by expelling the tyrant Nabis. A few there were indeed, who, to gratify Dinocrates, talked of putting Philopoemen to torture and to death, as a dangerous and implacable enemy, and the more to be dreaded by Dinocrates, if he eſcaped after being made priſoner, and treated with ſuch indignity. At laſt they put him in a dungeon called the * *Treaſury*, which had neither air nor light from without, and which having no doors was cloſed with a great ſtone. In this dungeon they ſhut him up with the ſtone, and placed a guard around it.

Mean

* The public treaſure was kept there; and it was ſhut up with an immenſe ſtone, moved to it by an engine. Liv. Lib, xxxix.

Mean while, the Achaean cavalry recollecting themſelves after their flight, found that Philopoemen was not with them, and probably had loſt his life. They made a ſtand, and called him with loud cries, blaming each other for making a baſe and ſhameful eſcape, by abandoning their general, who had been prodigal of his own life in order to ſave theirs. By much ſearch and enquiry about the country, they got intelligence that he was taken priſoner, and carried the heavy news to the ſtates of Achaia: who conſidering it as the greateſt of loſſes, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to demand him of the Meſſenians; and in the mean time prepared for war.

While the Achaeans were taking theſe reſolutions, Dinocrates, who moſt of all dreaded time, as the thing moſt likely to ſave Philopoemen, determined to be before-hand with the league. Therefore, when night was come, and the multitude retired, he opened the dungeon, and ſent in one of his ſervants with a doſe of poiſon, and orders not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopoemen was laid down in his cloak, but not aſleep: Vexation and reſentment kept him awake. When he ſaw the light, and the man ſtanding by him with the cup of poiſon, he raiſed himſelf up as well as his weakneſs would permit; and, receiving the cup, aſked him, "Whether he had heard any thing of his cavalry, and particularly of Lycortas?" The executioner anſwering that they almoſt all eſcaped, he nodded his head in ſign of ſatisfaction; and looking kindly upon him, ſaid, "Thou bringeſt good tidings, and we are not "in all reſpects unhappy." Without uttering another word, or breathing the leaſt ſigh, he drank off the poiſon, and laid down again. He was already brought ſo low that he could not make much ſtruggle with the fatal doſe, and it diſpatched him preſently.

The news of his death filled all Achaia with grief and lamentation. All the youth immediately repaired with the deputies of the ſeveral cities to Megalopolis,

galopolis, where they resolved without loss of time to take their revenge. For this purpose, having chosen * Lycortas for their general, they entered Messenia, and ravaged the country, till the Messenians with one consent opened their gates and received them. Dinocrates prevented their revenge by killing himself: and those who voted for having Philopoemen put to death, followed his example †. But such as were for having him put to the torture, were taken by Lycortas, and reserved for more painful punishments.

When they had burnt his remains, they put the ashes in an urn, and returned, not in a disorderly and promiscuous manner, but uniting a kind of triumphal march with the funeral solemnity. First came the foot with crowns of victory on their heads, and tears in their eyes; and attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's son, with the principal Achaeans about him, carried the urn, which was so adorned with ribbons and garlands that it is was hardly visible. The march was closed by the cavalry completely armed and superbly mounted: they neither expressed in their looks the melancholy of such a mourning, nor the joy of a victory. The people of the towns and villages on the way, flocked out, as if it had been to meet him returning from a glorious campaign, touched the urn with great respect, and conducted it to Megalopolis. The old men, the women and children, who joined the procession, raised such a bitter lamentation, that it spread through the army, and was re-echoed by the city, which, besides her grief for Philopoemen, bemoaned

* This was in the second year of the hundred and forty-ninth Olympiad. Lycortas was father to Polybius the historian, who was in the action, and might be then about twenty years of age.

† τουτους επ' ἀικιαις ποιουμενος συνελαμβανεν ὁ Λυκορτας. He intended to have them beaten with rods before they were put to death.

moaned her own calamity, as in him ſhe thought ſhe loſt the chief rank and influence among the Achaeans.

His interment was ſuitable to his dignity, and the Meſſenian priſoners were ſtoned to death at his tomb. Many ſtatues were ſet up *, and many honours decreed him by the Grecian cities. But when Greece was involved in the dreadful misfortunes of Corinth, a certain Roman † attempted to get them all pulled down, accuſing him in form, as if he had been alive, of implacable enmity to the Romans. When he had finiſhed the impeachment, and Polybius had anſwered his calumnies, neither Mummius nor his lieutenants would ſuffer the monuments of ſo illuſtrious a man to be defaced, though he had oppoſed both Flaminius and Glabrio not a little. For they made a proper diſtinction between virtue and intereſt, between honour and advantage; well concluding that rewards and grateful acknowledgements are always due from perſons obliged to their benefactors, and honour and reſpect from men of merit to each other. So much concerning Philopoemen.

* Pauſanias, in his Arcadic, gives us the inſcription the Tegeans put upon one of thoſe ſtatues.

† This happened thirty-ſeven years after his death, that is, the ſecond year of the hundred and forty-eighth Olympiad, one hundred and forty-five years before the chriſtian aera.

TITUS

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

THE perſon whom we put in parrallel with Philopoemen, is Titus Quinctius * Flaminius. Thoſe who are deſirous of being acquainted with his countenance and figure, need but look upon the ſtatue in braſs, which is erected at Rome, with a Greek inſcription upon it, oppoſite the *Circus Maximus*, near the great ſtatue of Apollo which was brought from Carthage. As to his diſpoſition, he was quick both to reſent an injury, and to do a ſervice. But his reſentment was not in all reſpects like his affection, for he puniſhed lightly, and ſoon forgot the offence; but his attachments and ſervices were laſting and complete. For the perſons whom he had obliged he ever retained a kind regard, as if, inſtead of receiving, they had conferred a favour; and,

* It ought to be written *Flamininus*, and not *Flaminius*. Polybius, Livy, and all the other hiſtorians write it Flamininus. Indeed, the Flaminii were a very different family from the Flamininii. The former were Patricians, the latter Plebeians. Caius Flaminius, who was killed in the battle at the lake of Thraſymenus, was of the Plebeian family. Beſides, ſome manuſcripts, for inſtance the Vulcob. an Anon. and one that Dacier conſulted, have it Flamininus: which would be ſufficient authority to correct it. But that would occaſion ſome inconvenience, becauſe Plutarch has called him Flaminius in other places, as well as here in his life; and indeed ſeveral modern writers have done the ſame.

and, conſidering them as his greateſt treaſure, he was always ready to protect and to promote them. Naturally covetous of honour and fame, and not chuſing to let others have any ſhare in his great and good actions, he took more pleaſure in thoſe whom he could aſſiſt, than in thoſe who could give him aſſiſtance; looking upon the former as perſons who afforded room for the exertion of virtue, and the latter as his rivals in glory.

From his youth he was trained up to the profeſſion of arms. For, Rome having then many important wars upon her hands, her youth betook themſelves betimes to arms, and had early opportunities to qualify themſelves to command. Flaminius ſerved like the reſt, and was firſt a legionary * tribune under the conſul Marcellus, in the war with Hannibal. Marcellus fell into an ambuſcade, and was ſlain; after which Flaminius was appointed governor of Tarentum, newly retaken, and of the country about it. In this commiſſion he grew no leſs famous for his adminiſtration of juſtice than for his military ſkill; for which reaſon he was appointed chief director of the two colonies that were ſent to the cities of Narnia and Coſſa.

This inſpired him with ſuch lofty thoughts, that overlooking the ordinary previous ſteps by which young men aſcend, I mean the offices of Tribune, Praetor, and Ædile, he aimed directly at the conſulſhip. Supported by thoſe coloniſts, he preſented himſelf as a candidate. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manlius oppoſed him, inſiſting that it was a ſtrange and unheard-of thing, for a man ſo young, who was not yet initiated in the firſt myſteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into

* He was appointed a Tribune at the age of twenty, in the fourth year of the hundred and forty-ſecond Olympiad. Conſequently he was born the firſt year of the hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad, which was the year of Rome 526. Livy tells us, he was thirty-three years of age, when he proclaimed liberty to Greece.

into the higheſt office in the ſtate. The ſenate referred the affair to the ſuffrages of the people; and the people elected him conſul, though he was not yet thirty years old, with Sextus Ælius. The lots being caſt for the provinces, the war with Philip and the Macedonians fell to Flaminius; and this happened very fortunately for the Roman people; as that department required a general who did not want to do every thing by force and violence, but rather by gentleneſs and perſuaſion. For Macedonia furniſhed Philip with a ſufficient number of men for his wars, but Greece was his principal dependance for a war of any length. She it was that ſupplied him with money and proviſions, with ſtrong holds and places of retreat, and, in a word, with all the materials of war. So that if ſhe could not be diſengaged from Philip, the war with him could not be decided by a ſingle battle. Beſides, the Greeks as yet had but little acquaintance with the Romans; it was now firſt to be eſtabliſhed by the intercourſe of buſineſs: and therefore, they would not ſo ſoon have embraced a foreign authority, inſtead of that they had been accuſtomed to, if the Roman general had not been a man of great good-nature, who was more ready to avail himſelf of treaty than of the ſword, who had a perſuaſive manner where he applied, and was affable and eaſy of acceſs when applied to, and who had a conſtant and invariable regard to juſtice. But this will better appear from his actions themſelves.

Titus finding that Sulpitius and * Publius, his predeceſſors in command, had not entered Macedonia till late in the ſeaſon, and then did not proſecute the war with vigour, but ſpent their time in ſkirmiſhing to gain ſome particular poſt or paſs, or to intercept ſome proviſions, determined not to act like them.

* Publius Sulpitius Galba was conſul two years before. Publius Villius Tappulus was conſul the year after Sulpitius, and next before Flaminius.

them. They had waſted the year of their conſulate in the enjoyment of their new honours and in the adminiſtration of domeſtic affairs, and towards the cloſe of the year they repaired to their province; by which artifice they got their command continued another year, being the firſt year in character of conſul, and the ſecond of proconſul. But Titus, ambitious to diſtinguiſh his conſulſhip by ſome important expedition, left the honours and prerogatives he had in Rome: and having requeſted the Senate to permit his brother Lucius to command the naval forces, and ſelected three thouſand men, as yet in full vigour and ſpirits, * and the glory of the field, from thoſe troops, who under Scipio had ſubdued Aſdrubal in Spain, and Hannibal in Africa, he croſſed the ſea, and got ſafe into Epirus. There he found Publius encamped over againſt Philip, who had been a long time defending the fords of the river Apſus and the adjoining ſtraits; and that Publius had not been able to effect any thing, by reaſon of the natural ſtrength of he place.

Titus having taken the command of the army, and ſent Publius home, ſet himſelf to conſider the nature of the country. It's natural fortifications are equal to thoſe of Tempe, but it is not like Tempe in the beauty of the woods and groves, and the verdure of valleys and delicious meads. To the right and left there is a chain of lofty mountains, between which there is a deep and long channel. Down this runs the river Apſus, like the Peneus both in it's appearance and rapidity. It covers the foot of the hills on each ſide, ſo that there is left only a narrow craggy path, cut out cloſe by the ſtream, which is not eaſy for an army to paſs at any time, and, when guarded, is not paſſable at all.

There were ſome, therefore, who adviſed Flaminius to take a compaſs through Daſſaretis along the Lycus, which was an eaſy paſſage. But he was afraid

* ωσπερ στομαμα — *as the edge of the weapon.*

afraid that if he removed too far from the ſea, into a country that was barren and little cultivated, while Philip avoided a battle he might come to want proviſions, and be conſtrained, like the general before him, to retreat to the ſea, without effecting any thing. This determined him to make his way up the mountains ſword in hand, and to force a paſſage. But Philip's army being poſſeſſed of the heights, ſhowered down their darts and arrows upon the Romans from every quarter. Several ſharp conteſts enſued, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides, but none that were likely to be deciſive.

In the mean time, ſome ſhepherds of thoſe mountains came to the conſul with the diſcovery of a winding way, neglected by the enemy, by which they promiſed to bring his army to the top in three days at the fartheſt. And to confirm the truth of what they had ſaid, they brought Charops the ſon of Machatas, prince of the Epirots; who was a friend to the Romans, and privately aſſiſted them out of fear of Philip. As Flaminius could confide in him, he ſent away a tribune with four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. The ſhepherds in bonds led the way. In the day-time they lay ſtill in the hollows of the woods, and in the night they marched; for the moon was then at full. Flaminius having detached this party, let his main body reſt the three days, and only had ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the enemy to take up their attention. But the day that he expected thoſe who had taken the circuit, to appear upon the heights, he drew out his forces early, both the heavy and light armed, and dividing them into three parts, himſelf led the van; marching his men along the narroweſt path by the ſide of the river. The Macedonians galled him with their darts; but he maintained the combat notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of ground; and the other two parties fought with all the ſpirit of emulation, and clung to the rocks with aſtoniſhing ardour.

In

In the mean time the ſun aroſe, and a ſmoak appeared at a diſtance, not very ſtrong, but like the miſt of the hills. Being on the back of the enemy, they did not obſerve it, for it came from the troops who had reached the top. Amidſt the fatigue of the engagement the Romans were in doubt whether it was a ſignal or not, but they inclined to believe it the thing they wiſhed. And when they ſaw it increaſe, ſo as to darken the air, and to mount higher and higher, they were well aſſured that it came from the fires which their friends had lighted. Hereupon they ſet up loud ſhouts, and charging the enemy with greater vigour, puſhed them into the moſt craggy places. The ſhouts were re-echoed by thoſe behind at the top of the mountain. And now the Macedonians fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Yet there were not above two thouſand ſlain, the purſuit being impeded by the difficulty of the aſcent. The Romans, however, pillaged the camp, ſeized the money and ſlaves, and became abſolute maſters of the paſs.

They then traverſed all Epirus, but with ſuch order and diſcipline, that, though they were at a great diſtance from their ſhips and the ſea, and had not the uſual monthly allowance of corn, or convenience of markets, yet they ſpared the country, which at the ſame time abounded in every thing. For Flaminius was informed that Philip, in his paſſage or rather flight thro' Theſſaly, had compelled the people to quit their habitations and retire to the mountains, had burnt the towns, and had given as plunder to his men what was too heavy or cumberſome to be carried off; and ſo had in a manner yielded up the country to the Romans. The conſul, therefore, made a point of it to prevail with his men to ſpare it as their own, to march through it as land already ceded to them.

The event ſoon ſhewed the benefit of this good order. For as ſoon as they entered Theſſaly, all it's cities declared for them; and the Greeks within Ther-

mopylae longed for the protection of Flaminius, and gave up their hearts to him. The Achaeans renounced their alliance with Philip, and by a ſolemn decree reſolved to take part with the Romans againſt him. And though the Ætolians, who at that time were ſtrongly attached to the Romans, made the Opuntians an offer to garriſon and defend their city, they refuſed it; and having ſent for Flaminius, put themſelves in his hands.

It is reported of Pyrrhus, when from an eminence he had firſt a proſpect of the diſpoſition of the Roman army, that he ſaid, "I ſee nothing barbarian-"like in the ranks of theſe barbarians." Indeed, all, who once ſaw Flaminius, ſpoke of him in the ſame terms. They had heard the Macedonians repreſent him as the fierce commander of a hoſt of barbarians, who was come to ruin and deſtroy, and to reduce all to ſlavery: And, when afterwards they met a young man of a mild aſpect, who ſpoke very good Greek, and was a lover of true honour, they were extremely taken with him, and excited the kind regards of their cities to him, as to a general who would lead them to liberty.

After this, Philip ſeeming inclined to treat, Flaminius came to an * interview with him, and offered him peace and friendſhip with Rome, on condition that he left the Grecians free, and withdrew his garriſons from their cities. And as he refuſed thoſe terms, it was obvious even to the partiſans of Philip, that the Romans were not come to fight againſt the Greeks, but for Greece againſt the Macedonians.

The reſt of Greece acceding voluntarily to the confederacy, the conſul entered Boeotia, but in a peaceable manner, and the chief of the Thebans came to meet him. They were inclined to the Macedonian intereſt on account of Brachyllas, but they honoured and reſpected Flaminius, and were willing to

* See Polybius, Book the XVII.

to preſerve the friendſhip of both. Flaminius received them with great goodneſs, embraced them, and went on ſlowly with them, aſking various queſtions, and entertaining them with diſcourſe, on purpoſe to give his ſoldiers time to come up. Thus advancing inſenſibly to the gates of Thebes, he entered the city with them. They did not indeed quite reliſh the thing, but they were afraid to forbid him, as he came ſo well attended. Then, as if he had been no-ways maſter of the town, he endeavoured by perſuaſion to bring it to declare for the Romans; King Attalus ſeconding him, and uſing all his rhetoric to the Thebans. But that prince, it ſeems, in his eagerneſs to ſerve Flaminius, exerting himſelf more than his age could bear, was ſeized, as he was ſpeaking, with a giddineſs or rheum which made him ſwoon away. A few days after, his fleet conveyed him into Aſia, and he died there. As for the Boeotians, they took part with the Romans.

As Philip ſent an embaſſy to Rome, Flaminius alſo ſent his agents to procure a decree of the ſenate prolonging his commiſſion if the war continued, or elſe impowering him to make peace. For his ambition made him apprehenſive, that if a ſucceſſor were ſent, he ſhould be robbed of all the honour of the war. His friends managed matters ſo well for him, that Philip failed in his application, and the command was continued to Flaminius. Having received the decree, he was greatly elevated in his hopes, and marched immediately into Theſſaly to carry on the war againſt Philip. His army conſiſted of more than twenty-ſix thouſand men, of whom the Ætolians furniſhed ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. Philip's forces were not inferior in number. They marched againſt each other, and arrived near Scotuſa, where they propoſed to decide the affair with the ſword. The vicinity of two ſuch armies had not the uſual effect, to ſtrike the officers with a

mutual awe; on the contrary, it increaſed their courage and ardour; the Romans being ambitious to conquer the Macedonians, whoſe valour and power Alexander had rendered ſo famous, and the Macedonians hoping, if they could beat the Romans, whom they looked upon as a more reſpectable enemy than the Perſians, to raiſe the glory of Philip above that of Alexander. Flaminius, therefore, exhorted his men to behave with the greateſt courage and gallantry, as they had to contend with brave adverſaries in ſo glorious a theatre as Greece. On the other ſide, Philip, in order to addreſs his army, aſcended an eminence without his camp, which happened to be a burying-place, either not knowing it to be ſo, or in the hurry not attending to it. There he began an oration ſuch as is uſual before a battle; but the omen of a ſepulchre ſpreading a diſmal melancholy among the troops, he ſtopped, and put off the action 'till another day.

Next morning at day-break, after a rainy night, the clouds turning into a miſt, darkened the plain; and, as the day came on, a foggy thick air deſcending from the hills, covered all the ground between the two camps. Thoſe, therefore, that were ſent out on both ſides, to ſeize poſts or to make diſcoveries, ſoon meeting unawares, engaged at the *Cynoſcephalae*, which are ſharp tops of hills ſtanding oppoſite each other, and ſo called from their reſemblance to the heads of dogs. The ſucceſs of theſe ſkirmiſhes was various by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ground, the ſame parties ſometimes flying and ſometimes purſuing; and reinforcements were ſent on both ſides, as they found their men hard preſt and giving way; 'till at length, the day clearing up, the action became general. Philip, who was in the right wing, advanced from the riſing ground with his whole phalanx againſt the Romans, who could not, even the braveſt of them, ſtand the ſhock of the united ſhields

ſhields and the * projected ſpears. But the Macedonian † left wing being ſeparated and interſected by the hills, Flaminius obſerving that, and having no hopes on the ſide where his troops gave way, haſtened to the other, and there charged the enemy, where on account of the inequality and roughneſs of the country, they could not keep in the cloſe form of a phalanx, nor line their ranks to any great depth, but were forced to fight man to man, in heavy and unwieldy armour. For the Macedonian phalanx is like an animal of enormous ſtrength, while it keeps in one body, and preſerves its union of locked ſhields: but when that is broken, each particular ſoldier loſes of his force, as well becauſe of the form of his armour, as becauſe the ſtrength of each conſiſts rather in his being a part of the whole, than in his ſingle perſon. When theſe were routed, ſome gave chace to the fugitives; others took thoſe Macedonians in flank who were ſtill fighting, the ſlaughter was great, and the wing, lately victorious, ſoon broken in ſuch a manner, that they threw down their arms and fled. There were no leſs than eight thouſand ſlain, and about five thouſand were taken priſoners. That Philip himſelf eſcaped, was chiefly owing to the Ætolians, who took to plundering the camp, while the Romans were buſied in the purſuit, ſo that at their return there was nothing left for them.

This from the firſt occaſioned quarrels and mutual reproaches. But afterwards Flaminius was hurt much more ſenſibly, when the ‡ Ætolians aſcribed the victory to themſelves, and endeavoured to pre-

* The pike of the fifth man in file projected beyond the front. There was, therefore, an amazing ſtrength in the phalanx, while it ſtood firm. But it had its inconveniencies. It could not act at all except in a level and clear field. POLYB. lib. xvii ſub fin.

† Plutarch makes no mention of the elephants; which, according to Livy and Polybius, were very ſerviceable to Flaminius.

‡ Polybius informs us, that the Macedonians in the firſt encounter had the advantage, and beat the Romans from the tops of the mountains they had gained. And he affirms, that in all probability

poſſeſs the Greeks that the fact was really ſo. This report got ſuch ground, that the poets and others, in the verſes that were compoſed and ſung on the occaſion, put them before the Romans. The verſes moſt in vogue were the following:

Stranger! unwept, unhonour'd with a grave,
See thrice ten thouſand bodies of the brave!
The fierce Ætolians, and the Latian power
Led by Flaminius, rul'd the vengeful hour:
Emathia's ſcourge beneath whoſe ſtroke they bled,
And ſwifter than the roe, the mighty Philip fled.

Alcaeus wrote this epigram in ridicule of Philip, and purpoſely miſrepreſented the number of the ſlain. The epigram was indeed in every body's mouth, but Flaminius was much more hurt by it than Philip: for the latter parodied Alcaeus, as follows:

Stranger, unleav'd, unhonour'd e'en with bark,
See this ſad tree, the gibbet of Alcaeus!

Flaminius, who was ambitious of the praiſe of Greece, was not a little provoked at this; and therefore managed every thing afterwards by himſelf, paying very little regard to the Ætolians. They in their turn indulged their reſentment; and, when Flaminius had admitted propoſals for an accommodation, and received an embaſſy for that purpoſe from Philip, the Ætolians exclaimed in all the cities of Greece, that he ſold the peace to the Macedonian, at a time when he might have put a final period to the war, and have deſtroyed that empire which firſt enſlaved the Grecians. Theſe ſpeeches, though groundleſs, greatly perplexed the allies; but Philip coming in perſon to treat, and ſubmitting himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of Flaminius and the Romans, removed all ſuſpicion.

Thus Flaminius put an end to the war. He reſtored Philip his kingdom, but obliged him to quit all claim to Greece: He fined him a thouſand talents; took away all his ſhips except ten; and ſent Demetrius,

bability the Romans would have been put to flight, had they not been ſupported by the Ætolian cavalry.

trius, one of his ſons, hoſtage to Rome. In this pacification, he made a happy uſe of the preſent, and wiſely provided for the time to come. For Hannibal the Carthaginian, an inveterate enemy to the Romans, and now an exile, being at the * court of Antiochus, exhorted him to meet fortune who opened her arms to him; and Antiochus himſelf ſeeing his power very conſiderable, and that his exploits had already gained him the title of the Great, began now to think of univerſal monarchy, and particularly of ſetting himſelf againſt the Romans. Had not Flaminius, therefore, in his great wiſdom foreſeen this, and † made peace, Antiochus might have joined Philip in the war with Greece, and thoſe two kings, then the moſt powerful in the world, have made a common cauſe of it; which would have called Rome again to as great conflicts and dangers as ſhe had experienced in the war with Hannibal. But Flaminius, by thus putting an intermediate ſpace of peace between the two wars, and finiſhing the one before the other began, cut off at once the laſt hope of Philip, and the firſt of Antiochus.

The ten commiſſioners now ſent by the ſenate to aſſiſt Flaminius, adviſed him to ſet the reſt of Greece free, but to keep garriſons in the cities of Corinth, Chalcis and Demetrias, to ſecure them in caſe of a war with Antiochus. But the Ætolians always ſevere in their accuſations, and now more ſo than ever, endeavoured to excite a ſpirit of inſurrection in the cities, calling upon Flaminius to knock off the ſhackles of Greece; for ſo Philip uſed to term thoſe

* This is a miſtake. Hannibal did not come to the court of Antiochus 'til the year after Flaminius had proclaimed liberty to Greece at the Iſthmian games; Cato and Valerius Flaccus, who were then conſuls, having ſent an embaſſy to Carthage to complain of him.

† Polybius tells us, Flaminius was induced to conclude a peace upon the intelligence he had received, that Antiochus was marching towards Greece with a powerful army; and he was afraid Philip might lay hold on that advantage to continue the war.

cities. They aſked the Greeks, "If they did not "find their chain very comfortable, now it was more "poliſhed, though heavier than before; and if they "did not conſider Flaminius as the greateſt of bene-"factors, for unfettering their feet, and binding "them by the neck." Flaminius, afflicted at theſe clamours, begged of the council of deputies, and at laſt prevailed with them to deliver thoſe cities from the garriſons, in order that his favour to the Grecians might be perfect and entire.

They were then celebrating the Iſthmian-games, and an innumerable company was ſeated to ſee the exerciſes. For Greece now enjoying full peace after a length of wars, and big with the expectation of liberty, had given into theſe feſtivities on that occaſion. Silence being commanded by ſound of trumpet, an herald went forth and made proclamation, "that the Roman ſenate, and Titus Quinctius Fla-"minius, the general and proconſul, having van-"quiſhed king Philip and the Macedonians, took off "all impoſitions, and withdrew all garriſons from "Greece, and reſtored liberty and their own laws "and privileges to the Corinthians, Locrians, Pho-"cians, Euboeans, Achaeans, Phthiſtae, Magneſi-"ans, Theſſalians, and Perrhaebians."

At firſt the proclamation was not generally or diſtinctly heard, but a confuſed murmur ran through the theatre; ſome wondering, ſome queſtioning, and others calling upon the herald to repeat what he had ſaid. Silence being again commanded, the herald raiſed his voice, ſo as to be heard clearly by the whole aſſembly. The ſhout which they gave in the tranſport of joy, was ſo prodigious, that it was heard as far as the ſea. The people left their ſeats; there was no farther regard paid to the diverſions; all haſtened to embrace and to addreſs the preſerver and protector of Greece. The hyperbolical accounts that have often been given of the effect of loud ſhouts, were verified on that occaſion. For the crows which

which then happened to be flying over their heads, fell into the theatre. The breaking of the air ſeems to have been the cauſe. For the ſound of many united voices being violently ſtrong, the parts of the air are ſeparated by it, and a void is left, which affords the birds no ſupport. Or perhaps the force of the ſound ſtrikes the birds like an arrow, and kills them in an inſtant. Or poſſibly a circular motion is cauſed in the air, as a whirlpool is produced in the ſea by the agitations of a ſtorm.

If Flaminius, as ſoon as he ſaw the aſſembly riſen, and the crowd ruſhing towards him, had not avoided them, and got under covert, he muſt have been ſurrounded, and in all probability ſuffocated, by ſuch a multitude. When they had almoſt ſpent themſelves in acclamations about his pavilion, and night was now come, they retired; and whatever friends or fellow-citizens they happened to ſee, they embraced and careſſed again, and then went and concluded the evening together in feaſting and merriment. There, no doubt, redoubling their joy, they began to recollect and talk of the ſtate of Greece: they obſerved, "that notwithſtanding the many great wars ſhe had "been engaged in for liberty, ſhe had never gained "a more ſecure or agreeable enjoyment of it, than "now when others had fought for her; that glorious "and important prize now hardly coſting them a "drop of blood, or a tear. That, of human ex-"cellencies, valour and prudence were but rarely "met with, but that juſtice was ſtill more uncom-"mon. That ſuch generals as Ageſilaus, Lyſander, "Nicias, and Alcibiades, knew how to manage a "war, and to gain victories both by ſea and land; "but they knew not how to apply their ſucceſs to "generous and noble purpoſes. So that if one ex-"cepted the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, Pla-"taeae and Thermopylae, and the actions of Cimon "upon the Eurymedon, and near Cyprus; Greece "had fought to no other purpoſe but to bring the yoke

"upon

" upon herſelf, all the trophies ſhe had erected were " monuments of her diſhonour, and at laſt her af- " fairs were ruined by the unjuſt ambition of her " chiefs. But theſe ſtrangers, who had ſcarce a " ſpark of any thing * Grecian left, who ſcarce re- " tained a faint tradition of their ancient deſcent " from us, from whom the leaſt inclination, or even " word in our behalf, could not have been expected; " theſe ſtrangers † have run the greateſt riſks, and " ſubmitted to the greateſt labours, to deliver Greece " from her cruel and tyrannic maſters, and to crown " her with liberty again."

Theſe were the reflections the Grecians made, and the actions of Flaminius juſtified them, being quite agreeable to his proclamation. For he immediately diſpatched Lentulus into Aſia, to ſet the Bargyllians free, and ‡ Titillius into Thrace, to draw Philip's garriſons out of the towns and adjacent iſlands. Publius Villius ſet ſail in order to treat with Antiochus about the freedom of the Grecians under him. And Flaminius himſelf went to Chalcis, and ſailed from thence to Magneſia, where he removed the garriſon, and put the government again in the hands of the people.

At Argos, being appointed director of the Nemean-games, he ſettled the whole order of them in the moſt agreeable manner, and on that occaſion cauſed

* According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, Rome was ſtocked with inhabitants at firſt, chiefly from thoſe Grecian colonies which had ſettled in the ſouth of Italy before the time of Romulus.

† The former tranſlator has entirely miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage. The Greek runs thus—αὐτοὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις καὶ πόνοις ἐξελόμενοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεσποτῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ τυράννων ἐλευθέρωσιν. His tranſlation runs thus,—*has retrieved Greece from her ſevereſt preſſures, and deepeſt extremities, has reſcued her out of the hands of inſulting tyrants, and reinſtated her in her former liberties.* It is plain he was led into this miſtake by miſunderſtanding the Latin, beyond which language he had no ambition to go. *Hi maximis periculis et laboribus Graeciam gravibus ſolverunt dominis et tyrannis, atque in libertatem reſtituerunt.*

‡ Polybius and Livy call him Lucius Stertinius.

cauſed liberty to be proclaimed again by the cryer. And as he paſſed through the other cities, he ſtrongly recommended to them an adherence to law, a ſtrict courſe of juſtice, and domeſtic peace and unanimity. He healed their diviſions; he reſtored their exiles. In ſhort, he took not more pleaſure in the conqueſt of the Macedonians, than in reconciling the Greeks to each other; and their liberty now appeared the leaſt of the benefits he had conferred upon them.

It is ſaid, that when Lycurgus the orator had delivered Xenocrates the philoſopher out of the hands of the tax-gatherers who were hurrying him to priſon for the tax paid by ſtrangers, and had proſecuted them for their inſolence; Xenocrates afterwards meeting the children of Lycurgus, ſaid to them, "Children, I have made a noble return to your fa-"ther for the ſervice he did me; for all the world "praiſe him for it." But the returns which attended Flaminius and the Romans, for their beneficence to the Greeks, terminated not in praiſes only, but juſtly procured them the confidence of all mankind, and added greatly to their power. For now a variety of people not only accepted the governors ſet over them by Rome, but even ſent for them, and begged to be under their government. And not only cities and commonwealths, but kings, when injured by other kings, had recourſe to their protection. So that, the divine aſſiſtance too perhaps cooperating, in a ſhort time the whole world became ſubject to them. Flaminius alſo valued himſelf moſt upon the liberty, he had beſtowed on Greece. For having dedicated ſome ſilver bucklers together with his own ſhield, at Delphi, he put upon them the follow inſcription:

Ye ſpartan twins, who tam'd the foaming ſteed,
Ye friends, ye patrons of each glorious deed,
Behold Flaminius, of Æneas' line,
Preſents this offering at your awful ſhrine.

Ye

Ye ſons of love your generous paths he trod,
And ſnatch'd from Greece each little tyrant's rod.

He offered alſo to Apollo a golden crown, with theſe verſes inſcribed on it:

See grateful Titus homage pay
To thee, the glorious god of day;
See him with gold thy locks adorn,
Thy locks which ſhed th' ambroſial morn.
O grant him fame and every gift divine,
Who led the warriors of Æneas' line.

The Grecians have had the noble gift of liberty twice conferred upon them in the city of Corinth: by Flaminius then, and by Nero in our times. It was granted both times during the celebration of the Iſtmian games. Flaminius had it proclaimed by an herald; but Nero himſelf declared the Grecians free and at liberty to be governed by their own Laws, in an oration which he made from the roſtrum in the public aſſembly. This happened long after. *

Flaminius next undertook a very juſt and honourable war againſt Nabis, the wicked and abandoned tyrant of Lacedaemon; but in this caſe he diſappointed the hopes of Greece. For, though he might have taken him priſoner, he would not; but ſtruck up a league with him, and left Sparta unworthily in bondage! whether it was that he feared, if the war was drawn out to any length, a † ſucceſſor would be ſent

* Two hundred and ſixty-three years.

† Livy touches upon this reaſon; but at the ſame time he mentions others more to the honour of this great man. Winter was now coming on, and the ſiege of Sparta might have laſted a conſiderable time. The enemy's country was ſo exhauſted, that it could not ſupply him with proviſions, and it was difficult to get convoys from any other quarter. Beſides, Villius was returned from the court of Antiochus, and brought advice that the peace with

ſent him from Rome, who would rob him of the glory of it; or whether in his paſſion for fame he was jealous of the reputation of Philopoemen: a man who on all occaſions had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Greeks, and in that war particularly had given wonderful proofs both of courage and conduct; inſomuch that the Achaeans gloried in him as much as in Flaminius, and paid him the ſame reſpect in their theatres. This greatly hurt Flaminius; he could not bear that an Arcadian, who had only commanded in ſome inconſiderable wars upon the confines of his own country, ſhould be held in equal admiration with a Roman conſul, who had fought for all Greece. Flaminius, however, did not want apologies for his conduct: for he ſaid, "he put an end to the war, "becauſe he ſaw he could not deſtroy the tyrant "without involving all the Spartans in the mean time "in great calamities."

The Achaeans decreed Flaminius many honours, but none ſeemed equal to his ſervices, unleſs it were one preſent, which pleaſed him above all the reſt. It was this: the Romans who had the misfortune to be taken priſoners in the war with Hannibal, were ſold for ſlaves, and diſperſed in various places. Twelve hundred of them were now in Greece. That ſad reverſe of fortune made them always unhappy, but now (as might be expected) they were ſtill more ſo, when they met their ſons, their brothers, or their acquaintance, and ſaw them free while they were ſlaves, and conquerors while they were captives. Flaminius did not pretend to take them from their maſters, though his heart ſympathized with their diſtreſs. But the Achaeans redeemed them at the rate of five Minae a man, and having collected them to-

with that prince was not to be depended upon. In fact, he had already entered Europe with a fleet and army more numerous than before. And what forces had they to oppoſe him, in caſe of a rupture, if Flaminius continued to employ his in the ſiege of Sparta? Liv. xxxiv. 33, 34.

together, made Flaminius a preſent of them, juſt as he was going on board; ſo that he ſet ſail with great ſatisfaction, having found a glorious recompence for his glorious ſervices, a return ſuitable to a man of ſuch humane ſentiments and ſuch a lover of his country. This indeed made the moſt illuſtrious part of his triumph. For theſe poor men got their heads ſhaved, and wore the cap of liberty, as the cuſtom of ſlaves is upon their manumiſſion, and in this habit they followed the chariot of Flaminius. But to add to the ſplendor of the ſhow, there were the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and ſpears, and the other ſpoils carried in great pomp before him. And the quantity of money was not ſmall; for, as Iſanus relates it, there were carried in this triumph three thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen pounds of unwrought gold, forty-three thouſand two hundred and ſeventy of ſilver, fourteen thouſand five hundred and fourteen pieces of coined gold called Philippics; beſides which, Philip owed a thouſand talents. But the Romans were afterwards prevailed upon, chiefly by the mediation of Flaminius, to remit this debt; Philip was declared their ally, and his ſon, who had been with them as an hoſtage, ſent home.

After this, Antiochus paſſed over into Greece with a great fleet and a powerful army, and ſolicited the ſtates to join him. The Ætolians, who had been a long time ill affected to the Romans, took his part, and ſuggeſted this pretence for the war, that he came to bring the Grecians liberty. The Grecians had no want of it, for they were free already; but, as he had no better cauſe to aſſign, they inſtructed him to cover his attempt with that ſplendid pretext.

The Romans, fearing, on this account, a revolt in Greece, as well as the ſtrength of Antiochus, ſent the conſul Manius Acilius to command in the war, but appointed * Flaminius his lieutenant, for the ſake

* According to Livy, It was not Titus, but Lucius Quinctius who was appointed lieutenant to Glabrio.

ſake of his influence in Greece. His appearance there immediately confirmed ſuch as were yet friends, in their fidelity, and prevented thoſe who were wavering from an entire defection. This was effected by the reſpect they bore him; for it operated like a potent remedy at the beginning of a diſeaſe. There were a few, indeed, ſo entirely gained and corrupted by the Ætolians, that his intereſt did not prevail with them; yet even theſe, though he was much exaſperated againſt them at preſent, he ſaved after the battle. For Antiochus, being defeated at Thermopylae, and forced to fly, immediately embarked for Aſia. Upon this, the conſul Manius went againſt ſome of the Ætolians, and beſieged their towns, abandoning others to Philip. Thus great ravages were committed by the Macedonians among the Dolopians and Magneſians on one hand, and among the Athamanians and Aperantians on the other; and Manius himſelf, having ſacked the city of Heraclea, beſieged Naupactus, then in the hands of the Ætolians. But Flaminius, being touched with compaſſion for Greece, went from Peloponneſus to the conſul by water. He began with remonſtrating, that the conſul, though he had won the victory himſelf, ſuffered Philip to reap the fruits of it; and that while, to gratify his reſentment, he ſpent his time about one town, the Macedonians were ſubduing whole provinces and kingdoms. The beſieged happened to ſee Flaminius, called to him from the walls, ſtretched out their hands, and begged his interpoſition. He gave them no anſwer, but turned round and wept, and then immediately withdrew. Afterwards, however, he diſcourſed with Manius ſo effectually, that he appeaſed his anger, and procured the Ætolians a truce, and time to ſend deputies to Rome, to petition for favourable terms.

But he had much greater difficulties to combat, when he applied to Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. The conſul was highly incenſed at them, on account of the marriage which Antiochus celebrated among

among them, even after the war was begun; a marriage every way unſuitable as well as unſeaſonable; for he was far advanced in years, and the bride very young. The perſon he thus fell in love with was daughter to Cleoptolemus, and a virgin of incomparable beauty. This match brought the Chalcidians entirely into the king's intereſt, and they ſuffered him to make uſe of their city as * a place of arms. After the battle he fled with great precipitation to Chalcis, and taking with him his young wife, his treaſures and his friends, ſailed from thence to Aſia. And now Manius in his indignation marching directly againſt Chalcis, Flaminius followed, and endeavoured to appeaſe his reſentment. At laſt he ſucceeded, by his aſſiduities with him and the moſt reſpectable Romans who were likely to have an influence upon him. The Chalcidians, thus ſaved from deſtruction, conſecrated the moſt beautiful and the nobleſt of their public edifices to Titus Flaminius; and ſuch inſcriptions as theſe are to be ſeen upon them to this day: "The people dedicate this Gymnaſium to "Titus and Hercules: the people conſecrate the "Delphinium to Titus and Apollo." Nay, what is more, even in our days a prieſt of Titus is formally elected and declared; and on occaſions of ſacrifice to him, when the libations are over, they ſing an hymn, the greateſt part of which, for the length of it, I omit, and only give the concluſion:

While Rome's protecting power we prove,
Her faith adore, her virtues love,
Still, as our ſtrains to heaven aſpire,
Let Rome and Titus wake the lyre!
To theſe our grateful altars blaze,
And our long Pæans pour immortal praiſe.

The reſt of the Grecians conferred upon him all due honours; and what realized thoſe honours, and added

* πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὁρμητήριον.

added to their luſtre, was the extraordinary affection of the people, which he had gained by his lenity and moderation. For if he happened to be at variance with any one, upon account of buſineſs, or about a point of honour, as, for inſtance, with Philopoemen, and with Diophanes general of the Achaeans, he never gave into malignity, or carried his reſentment into action, but let it expire in words, in ſuch expoſtulations as the freedom of public debates may ſeem to juſtify. Indeed, no man ever found him vindictive, but he often diſcovered a haſtineſs and paſſionate turn. Setting this aſide, he was the moſt agreeable man in the world, and a pleaſantry mixed with ſtrong ſenſe diſtinguiſhed his converſation. Thus, to divert the Achaeans from their purpoſe of conquering the iſland of Zacynthus, he told them, "It was as dangerous "for them to put their heads out of Peloponneſus, "as it was for the tortoiſe to truſt his out of his "ſhell." In the firſt conference which Philip and he had about peace, Philip taking occaſion to ſay, "Titus, you come with a numerous retinue, where-"as I come quite alone:" Flaminius anſwered, "No wonder if you come alone, for you have killed "all your friends and relations." Dinocrates the Meſſenian being in company at Rome, drank 'till he was intoxicated, and then put on a woman's habit, and danced in that diſguiſe. Next day, he applied to Flaminius, and begged his aſſiſtance in a deſign which he had conceived, to withdraw Meſſene from the Achaean league. Flaminius anſwered, "I will "conſider of it; but I am ſurpriſed that you, who "conceive ſuch great deſigns, can ſing and dance at "a carouſal." And when the ambaſſadors of Antiochus repreſented to the Achaeans, how numerous the king's forces were, and, to make them appear ſtill more ſo, reckoned them up by all their different names; "I ſupped once," ſaid Flaminius, "with a "friend; and upon my complaining of the great "number of diſhes, and expreſſing my wonder how

" he could furniſh his table with ſuch a vaſt variety,
" Be not uneaſy about that, ſaid my friend, for it
" is all hog's fleſh, and the difference is only in the
" dreſſing and the ſauce. In like manner, I ſay to you,
" my Achaean friend, be not aſtoniſhed at the number
" of Antiochus's forces, at theſe Pikemen, theſe Hal-
" berdiers and Cuiraſſiers; for they are all Syrians,
" only diſtinguiſhed by the trifling arms they bear."

After theſe great actions in Greece, and the concluſion of the war with Antiochus, Flaminius was created cenſor. This is the chief dignity in the ſtate, and the crown, as it were, of all it's honours. He had for collegue the ſon of Marcellus, who had been five times conſul. They expelled four ſenators who were men of no great note: and they admitted as citizens all who offered, provided that their parents were free. But they were forced to this by Terentius Culeo, a tribune of the people, who, in oppoſition to the nobility, procured ſuch orders from the commons. Two of the greateſt and moſt powerful men of thoſe times, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were then at variance with each other. Flaminius appointed the former of theſe preſident of the ſenate, as the firſt and beſt man in the commonwealth; and with the latter he entirely broke, on the following unhappy occaſion. Titus had a brother named Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, unlike him in all reſpects, but quite abandoned in his pleaſures, and regardleſs of decorum. This Lucius had a favourite boy whom he carried with him, even when he commanded armies and governed provinces. One day, as they were drinking, the boy, making his court to Lucius, ſaid, " I love you ſo tenderly, that preferring your
" ſatisfaction to my own, I left a ſhow of Gladiators,
" to come to you, though I have never ſeen a man
" killed." Lucius, delighted with the flattery, made anſwer, " If that be all, you need not be in the leaſt
" uneaſy, for I ſhall ſoon ſatisfy your longing." He immediately ordered a convict to be brought from

the

the priſon, and having ſent for one of his lictors, commanded him to ſtrike off the man's head, in the room where they were carouſing. Valerius Antias writes, that this was done to gratify a miſtreſs. And Livy relates, from Cato's writings, that a Gauliſh deſerter being at the door with his wife and children, Lucius took him into the banqueting-room, and killed him with his own hand; but it is probable, that Cato ſaid this, to aggravate the charge. For that the perſon killed was not a deſerter, but a priſoner, and a condemned one too, appears from many writers, and particularly from Cicero, in his treatiſe on old age, where he introduces Cato himſelf giving that account of the matter.

Upon this account, Cato, when he was cenſor, and ſet himſelf to remove all obnoxious perſons from the ſenate, expelled Lucius, though he was of conſular dignity. His brother thought this proceeding reflected diſhonour upon himſelf; and they both went into the aſſembly in the form of ſuppliants, and beſought the people with tears, that Cato might be obliged to aſſign his reaſon for fixing ſuch a mark of diſgrace upon ſo illuſtrious a family. The requeſt appeared reaſonable. Cato without the leaſt heſitation came out, and ſtanding up with his collegue, interrogated Titus, whether he knew any thing of that feaſt. Titus anſwering in the negative. Cato related the affair, and called upon Lucius to declare upon oath, whether it was not true. As Lucius made no reply, the people determined the note of infamy to be juſt, and conducted Cato home with great honour, from the tribunal.

Titus, greatly concerned at his brother's misfortune, leagued with the inveterate enemies of Cato, and gaining a majority in the ſenate, quaſhed and annulled all the contracts, leaſes and bargains which Cato had made, relating to the public revenues; and ſtirred up many and violent proſecutions againſt him. But I know not whether he acted well, or agreeably

to good policy, in thus becoming a mortal enemy to a man who had only done what became a lawful magiſtrate and good citizen, for the ſake of one who was a relation indeed, but an unworthy one, and who had met with the puniſhment he deſerved. Some time after, however, the people being aſſembled in the theatre to ſee the ſhows, and the ſenate ſeated, according to cuſtom, in the moſt honourable place, Lucius was obſerved to go in an humble and dejected manner, and ſit down upon one of the loweſt benches. The people could not bear to ſee this, but called out to him to go up higher, and ceaſed not 'till he went to the conſular bench, who made room for him.

The native ambition of Flaminius was applauded, while it found ſufficient matter to employ itſelf upon in the wars we have given account of. And his ſerving in the army as a tribune, after he had been conſul, was regarded with a favourable eye, though no one required it of him. But when he was arrived at an age that excuſed him from all employments, he was blamed for indulging a violent paſſion for fame, and a youthful impetuoſity in that inactive ſeaſon of life. To ſome exceſs of this kind ſeems to have been owing his behaviour with reſpect to * Hannibal, at which the world was much offended. For Hannibal having fled his country, took refuge firſt at the court of Antiochus. But Antiochus, after he had loſt the battle in Phrygia, gladly accepting conditions of peace, Hannibal was again forced to fly; and, after wandering through many countries, at length ſettled in Bithynia, and put himſelf under the protection

* Flaminius was no more than forty four years of age, when he went ambaſſador to Pruſias. It was not therefore an unſeaſonable deſire of a public character, or extravagant paſſion for fame, which was blamed in him on this occaſion, but an unworthy perſecution of a great, though unfortunate man. We are inclined however to think, that he had ſecret inſtructions from the ſenate for what he did: for it is not probable that a man of his mild and humane diſpoſition would chuſe to hunt down an old unhappy warrior: and Plutarch confirms this opinion afterwards.

tection of Prusias. The Romans knew this perfectly well, but they took no notice of it, considering him now as a man enfeebled by age, and overthrown by fortune. But Flaminius, being sent by the senate upon an embassy to Prusias about other matters, and seeing Hannibal at his court, could not endure that he should be suffered to live. And though Prusias used much intercession and intreaty in behalf of a man who came to him as a suppliant, and lived with him under the sanction of hospitality, he could not prevail.

It seems there was an ancient oracle, which thus prophesied concerning the end of Hannibal,

Libyssan earth shall hide the bones of Hannibal.

He therefore, thought of nothing but ending his days at Carthage, and being buried in Libya. But in Bithynia there is a sandy place near the sea, which has a small village in it called Libyssa. In this neighbourhood Hannibal lived. But having always been apprized of the timidity of Prusias, and distrusting him on that account, and dreading withal the attempts of the Romans, he had some time before ordered seven subterraneous passages to be dug under his house; which were continued a great way under ground, and terminated in several different places, but were all undiscernible without. As soon as he was informed of the orders which Flaminius had given, he attempted to make his escape by those passages; but finding the king's guards at the outlets, he resolved to kill himself. Some say, he wound his cloak about his neck, and ordered his servant to put his knees upon his back, and pull with all his force, and not to leave twisting 'till he had quite strangled him. Others tell us, that, like Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. But Livy writes, that, having poison in readiness, he mixed it for a draught; and taking the cup in his hand, "Let us deliver the Romans," said he, "from their cares and anxieties, since they "think it too tedious and dangerous to wait for the

" death of a poor hated old man. Yet ſhall not " Titus gain a conqueſt worth envying, or ſuitable " to the generous proceedings of his anceſtors, who " ſent to caution Pyrrhus, though a victorius ene- " my, againſt the poiſon that was prepared for " him."

Thus Hannibal is ſaid to have died. When the news was brought to the ſenate, many in that auguſt body were highly diſpleaſed. Flaminius appeared too officious and cruel in his precautions, to procure the death of Hannibal now tamed by his misfortunes, like a bird that through age had loſt it's tail and feathers, and ſuffered to live ſo. And as he had no orders to put him to death, it was plain that he did it out of a paſſion for fame, and to be mentioned in after-times as the deſtroyer of Hannibal.* On this occaſion they recollected and admired more than ever, the humane and generous behaviour of Scipio Africanus; for when he had vanquiſhed Hannibal in Africa, at a time when he was extremely formidable, and deemed invincible, he neither inſiſted on his baniſhment, nor demanded him of his fellow-citizens: but, as he had embraced him at the conference which he had with him before the battle; ſo, after it, when he ſettled the conditions of peace, he offered not the leaſt affront or inſult to his misfortunes.

It is reported that they met again at Epheſus, and Hannibal, as they walked together, taking the upper hand, Africanus ſuffered it, and walked on without the leaſt concern. Afterwards they fell into converſation about great generals, and Hannibal aſſerted that Alexander was the greateſt general the world had ever ſeen, that Pyrrhus was the ſecond, and himſelf the third. Scipio ſmiled at this, and ſaid, " But " what

* If this was really the motive of Flaminius, and nothing of a political tendency entered into this daſtardly deſtruction of that great general, it would hardly be poſſible for all the virtues, all the triumphs of the Romans, to redeem him from the infamy of ſo baſe an action.

" what rank would you have placed yourſelf in, if " I had not conquered you?" O! Scipio," ſaid he, " then I would not have placed myſelf the third, " but the firſt."

The generality admiring this moderation of Scipio, found the greater fault with Flaminius for taking the ſpoils of an enemy whom another man had ſlain. There were ſome indeed, who applauded the thing, and obſerved, " That while Hannibal lived, they " muſt have looked upon him as a fire, which wan- " ted only to be blown into a flame. That, when " he was in the vigour of his age, it was not his bo- " dily ſtrength or his right hand which was ſo dread- " ful to the Romans, but his capacity and expe- " rience, together with his innate rancour and ha- " tred to their name. And that theſe are not altered " by age; for the native diſpoſition ſtill overrules " the manners; whereas fortune, far from remain- " ing the ſame, changes continually, and by new " hopes invites thoſe to new enterprizes who were " ever at war with us in their hearts." And the ſub- ſequent events contributed ſtill more to the juſtifica- tion of Flaminius. For, in the firſt place, Ariſtoni- cus, the ſon of a harper's daughter, on the ſtrength of his being reputed the natural ſon of Eumenes, fil- led all Aſia with tumult and rebellion: and in the next place, Mithridates, after ſuch ſtrokes as he had met with from Sylla and Fimbria, and ſo terrible a deſtruction among his troops and officers, roſe up ſtronger than ever againſt Lucullus, both by ſea and land. Indeed, Hannibal was never brought ſo low as Caius Marius had been. For Hannibal enjoyed the friendſhip of a king, from whom he received li- beral ſupplies, and with whoſe officers, both in the navy and army, he had important connections; whereas Marius was a wanderer in Africa, and for- ced to beg his bread. But the Romans, who had laughed at his fall, ſoon after bled, in their own ſtreets, under his rods and axes, and proſtrated

themſelves before him. So true it is, that there is nothing either great or little at this moment, which is ſure to hold ſo in the days to come; and that the changes we have to experience, only determine with our lives. For this reaſon, ſome tell us, that Flaminius did not do this of himſelf, but that he was joined in commiſſion with Lucius Scipio, and that the ſole purpoſe of their embaſſy, was to procure the death of Hannibal. As we have no account after this, of any political or military act of Flaminius, and only know that he died in his bed, it is time to come to the compariſon.

FLAMINIUS *and* PHILOPOEMEN *compared.*

IF we conſider the extenſive benefits which Greece received from Flaminius, we ſhall find that neither Philopoemen, nor other Grecians more illuſtrious than Philopoemen, will ſtand the compariſon with him. For the Greeks always fought againſt Greeks; but Flaminius, who was not of Greece, fought for that country. And at a time when Philopoemen, unable to defend his fellow-citizens who were engaged in a dangerous war, paſſed over into Crete, Flaminius having vanquiſhed Philip in the heart of Greece, ſet cities and whole nations free. If we examine into their battles, it will appear, that Philopoemen, while he commanded the Achaean forces, killed more Greeks, than Flaminius, in aſſerting the Grecian cauſe, killed Macedonians.

As to their failings, ambition was the fault of Flaminius, and obſtinacy that of Philopoemen. The former was paſſionate, and the latter implacable. Flaminius left Philip in his royal dignity, and pardoned the Ætolians: whereas Philopoemen, in his reſentment againſt his country, robbed her of ſeveral of her dependencies. Beſides; Flaminius was always a firm friend to thoſe whom he had once ſerved; but Philopoemen was ever ready to deſtroy the merit of

of his former kindneſſes, only to indulge his anger. For he had been a great benefactor to the Lacedaemonians; yet afterwards he demoliſhed their walls, and ravaged their country; and in the end entirely changed and overturned their conſtitution. Nay, he ſeems to have ſacrificed his life to his paſſion and perverſeneſs, by too haſtily and unſeaſonably invading Meſſenia; inſtead of taking, like Flaminius, every precaution for his own ſecurity and that of his troops.

But Philopoemen's military knowledge and experience was perfected by his many wars and victories. And, whereas Flaminius decided his diſpute with Philip in two engagements; Philopoemen, by conquering in an incredible number of battles, left fortune no room to queſtion his ſkill.

Flaminius, moreover, availed himſelf of the power of a great and flouriſhing commonwealth, and raiſed himſelf by it's ſtrength; but Philopoemen diſtinguiſhed himſelf at a time when his country was upon the decline. So that the ſucceſs of the one is to be aſcribed ſolely to himſelf, and that of the other to all the Romans. The one had good troops to command; and the other made thoſe ſo which he commanded. And though the great actions of Philopoemen, being performed againſt Grecians, do not prove him a fortunate man, yet they prove him a brave man. For, where all other things are equal, great ſucceſs muſt be owing to ſuperior excellence. He had to do with two of the moſt warlike nations among the Greeks, the Cretans who were the moſt artful, and the Lacedaemonians who were the moſt valiant; and yet he maſtered the former by policy, and the latter by courage. Add to this, that Flaminius had his men ready armed and diſciplined to his hand, whereas Philopoemen had the armour of his to alter, and to new-model their diſcipline. So that the things which contribute moſt to victory, were the invention of the one, while the other only practiſed what was already in uſe. Accordingly Philopoemen's

poemen's perſonal exploits were many and great; but we find nothing of that kind remarkable in Flaminius. On the contrary, a certain Ætolian, ſaid, by way of raillery, "Whilſt * I ran, with my drawn "ſword, to charge the Macedonians, who ſtood firm "and continued fighting, Titus was ſtanding ſtill, "with his hands lifted up towards heaven, and praying."

It is true, all the acts of Flaminius were glorious, while he was general, and during his lieutenancy too; but Philopoemen ſhewed himſelf no leſs ſerviceable and active among the Achaeans, when in a private capacity, than when he had the command. For, when commander in chief, he drove Nabis out of the city of Meſſene, and reſtored the inhabitants to their liberty; but he was only in a private ſtation, when he ſhut the gates of Sparta againſt the general Diophanes, and againſt Flaminius, and by that means ſaved the Lacedaemonians. Indeed, nature had given him ſuch talents for command, that he knew, not only how to govern according to the laws, but how to govern the laws themſelves, when the public good required it; not waiting for the formality of the people's appointing him, but rather employing them, when the occaſion demanded it. For he was perſuaded, that, not he whom the people elect, but he who thinks beſt for the people is the true general.

There was undoubtedly ſomething great and generous in the clemency and humanity of Flaminius towards the Grecians; but there was ſomething ſtill greater and more generous in the reſolution which Philopoemen ſhewed in maintaining the liberties of Greece againſt the Romans. For it is a much eaſier matter to be liberal to the weak, than to oppoſe, and to ſupport a diſpute with the ſtrong. Since, therefore,

* The former tranſlator makes the Ætolian ſay this of Philopoemen; but the original will not bear it. In that caſe, the Greek, inſtead of ὡς ὁτε αυτος, κ. τ. λ. would have run, ὡς ὁτε ετερος.

fore, after all our enquiry into the characters of theſe two great men, the ſuperiority is not obvious, perhaps we ſhall not greatly err, if we give the Grecian the palm of generalſhip and military ſkill, and the Roman that of juſtice and humanity.

PYR-

PYRRHUS.

SOME hiſtorians write, that Phaeton was the firſt king after the deluge who reigned over the Theſprotians and Moloſſians, and that he was one of thoſe who came with Pelaſgus into Epirus. Others ſay, that Deucalion and Pyrrha, after they had built the * temple of Dodona, ſettled among the Moloſſians. In after-times † Neoptolemus, the ſon of Achilles, taking his people with him, poſſeſſed himſelf of the country, and left a ſucceſſion of kings after him, called Pyrrhidae; for in his infancy he was called Pyrrhus; and he gave that Name to one of his legitimate ſons whom he had by Lanaſſa the daughter of Cleodes ſon of Hyllus. From that time Achilles had divine honours in Epirus, being ſtiled there Aſpetas (i. e. the Inimitable) After theſe firſt kings thoſe that followed, became intirely barbarous, and both their power and their actions ſunk into the utmoſt obſcurity. ‡ Tharrytas is the firſt whom hiſtory mentions as remarkable for poliſhing

* Probably it was only a druidical kind of temple.

† Between Deucalion's flood and the times of Neoptolemus, there was a ſpace of about three hundred and forty years.

‡ Juſtin does not aſcribe the civilizing of the Moloſſians to Tharrytas, but to Arybas the ſon of Alcetas I. who had himſelf been poliſhed and humanized by his education at Athens.

ing and improving his cities with Grecian cuſtoms, with letters and good laws. Alcetas was the ſon of Tharrytas, Arybas of Alcetas; and of Arybas and Troias his queen was born Æacides. He married Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Theſſalian, who acquired great reputation in the Lamian war, and, next to Leoſthenes, was the moſt conſiderable of the confederates. By Phthia Æacides had two daughters named Deidamia and Troias, and a ſon named Pyrrhus.

But the Moloſſians, riſing againſt Æacides, depoſed him, and brought in the ſons of * Neoptolemus. On this occaſion the friends of Æacides were taken and ſlain: only Androclides and Angelus eſcaped with his infant ſon, though he was much ſought after by his enemies; and carried him off with his nurſes and a few neceſſary attendants. This train rendered their flight difficult and ſlow, ſo that they were ſoon overtaken. In this extremity they put the child in the hands of Androcleon, Hippias and Neander, three active young men whom they could depend upon, and ordered them to make the beſt of their way to Megarae, a town in Macedonia; while they themſelves, partly by intreaty, and partly by force, ſtopt the courſe of the purſuers 'till evening; when, having with much difficulty got clear of them, they haſtened to join thoſe who carried the young prince. At ſun-ſet they thought themſelves near the ſummit of their hopes, but they met with a ſudden diſappointment. When they came to the river that runs by the town, it looked rough and dreadful; and upon trial, they found it abſolutely unfordable. For the current, being ſwelled with the late rains, was very high and boiſterous, and darkneſs added to the horror. They now deſpaired of getting the child and his nurſes over, without ſome other aſſiſtance; when perceiving ſome of the inhabitants of the place on the other ſide, they begged of them to aſſiſt their paſſage, and held up Pyrrhus towards them. But though

* This Neoptolemus was the Brother of Arybas.

though they called out loud and intreated earneſtly, the ſtream ran ſo rapid and made ſuch a roaring that they could not be heard. Some time was ſpent, while they were crying out on one ſide, and liſtening to no purpoſe on the other. At laſt one of Pyrrhus's company thought of peeling off a piece of oak-bark, and of expreſſing upon it, with the tongue of a buckle, the neceſſities and fortunes of the child. Accordingly, he put this in execution, and having rolled the piece of bark about a ſtone, which was made uſe of to give force to the motion, he threw it to the other ſide. Some ſay, he bound it faſt to a javelin, and darted it over. When the people on the other ſide had read it, and ſaw there was not a moment to loſe, they cut down trees, and made a raft of them, and croſſed the river upon it. It happened that the firſt man who reached the bank, was named Achilles. He took Pyrrhus in his arms, and conveyed him over, while his companions performed the ſame ſervice for his followers.

Pyrrhus and his train, having thus got ſafe over, and eſcaped the purſuers, continued their route, 'till they arrived at the court of Glaucias king of Illyria. They found the king ſitting in his palace with * the queen his conſort, and laid the child at his feet in the poſture of a ſuppliant. The king, who ſtood in fear of Caſſander, the enemy of Æacides, remained a long time ſilent, conſidering what part he ſhould act. While Pyrrhus, of his own accord creeping cloſer to him, took hold of his robe, and raiſing himſelf up to his knees, by this action firſt excited a ſmile, and afterwards compaſſion; for he thought he ſaw a petitioner before him begging his protection with tears. Some ſay, it was not Glaucias, but the altar of the domeſtic gods which he approached, and that he raiſed himſelf by embracing it; from which it appeared

* Juſtin calls this princeſs Beroa, and ſays ſhe was of the family of the Æacidae: which muſt have been the reaſon of their ſeeking refuge for Pyrrhus in that court.

appeared to Glaucias that heaven intereſted itſelf in the infant's favour. For this reaſon he put him immediately in the hands of the queen, and ordered her to bring him up with his own children. His enemies demanding him ſoon after, and Caſſander offering two hundred talents to have him delivered up, Glaucias refuſed to do it; and when he came to be twelve years old, conducted him into Epirus at the head of an army, and placed him upon the throne.

Pyrrhus had an air of majeſty rather terrible than auguſt. Inſtead of teeth, in his upper jaw he had one continued bone, marked with ſmall lines reſembling the diviſions of a row of teeth. It was believed, that he cured the ſwelling of the ſpleen, by ſacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently preſſing the part affected, the patients lying upon their backs for that purpoſe. There was no perſon, however poor or mean, refuſed this relief, if requeſted. He received no reward, except the cock for ſacrifice, and this preſent was very agreeable to him. It is alſo ſaid, that the great toe of that foot had a divine virtue in it; for, after his death, when the reſt of his body was conſumed, that toe was found entire and untouched by the flames. But this account belongs not to the period we are upon.

When he was about ſeventeen years of age, and ſeemed to be quite eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, he happened to be called out of his own territories, to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias's ſons, with whom he had been educated. On this occaſion the Moloſſians revolting again, drove out his friends, pillaged his treaſures, and put themſelves once more under Neoptolemus. Pyrrhus having thus loſt the crown, and being in want of every thing, applied himſelf to Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia. That princeſs, when very young, had been promiſed to Alexander the ſon of Roxana [by Alexander the great;] but that family being unfortunately cut off, ſhe was given, when

when ſhe came to be marriageable, to Demetrius. In the great battle of Ipſus, where * all the kings of the earth were engaged, Pyrrhus accompanied Demetrius; and, though but young, bore down all before him, and highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the combatants. Nor did he forſake Demetrius, when unſucceſsful, but kept for him thoſe cities of Greece with which he was entruſted; and when the treaty was concluded with Ptolemy, he went to Egypt as an hoſtage. There, both in hunting and other exerciſes, he gave Ptolemy proofs of his ſtrength and indefatigable abilities. Obſerving that among Ptolemy's wives, Berenice was ſhe who had the greateſt power, and was moſt eminent for virtue and underſtanding, he attached himſelf moſt to her. For he had a particular art of making his court to the great, while he overlooked thoſe that were below him. And as in his whole conduct he paid great attention to decency, temperance and prudence, Antigone, who was daughter to Berenice by her firſt huſband Philip, was given him, in preference to many other young princes.

On this account he was held in greater honour than ever: and Antigone proving an excellent wife, procured him men and money, which enabled him to recover his kingdom of Epirus. At his arrival there his ſubjects received him with open arms; for Neoptolemus was become obnoxious to the people, by reaſon of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. Nevertheleſs, Pyrrhus, apprehending that Neoptolemus might have recourſe to ſome of the other kings, came to an agreement with him, and aſſociated him in the kingdom. But in proceſs of time there were ſome who privately ſowed diſſenſion and jealouſies between them. Pyrrhus's chief quarrel with

* He ſays all the kings of the earth were engaged, becauſe Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Caſſander, Antigonus and Demetrius were there in perſon. This battle was fought about 300 years before Chriſt.

with Neoptolemus is ſaid to have taken it's riſe as follows. It had been a cuſtom for the kings of Epirus to hold an aſſembly at Paſſaron, a place in the province of the Moloſſians; where, after ſacrificing to Jupiter *the warrior*, mutual oaths were taken by them and their ſubjects. The kings were ſworn *to govern according to law*, and the people, *to defend the crown according to law*. Both the kings met on this occaſion, attended by their friends, and after the ceremony, great preſents were made on all ſides. Gelon, who was very cordially attached to Neoptolemus, among the reſt, paid his reſpects to Pyrrhus, and made him a preſent of two yoke of oxen.* Myrtilus, one of this prince's cupbearers, begged them of him; but Pyrrhus refuſed him, and gave them to another. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus took the diſappointment extremely ill, invited him to ſup with him. After ſupper he ſolicited him to embrace the intereſt of Neoptolemus, and to poiſon Pyrrhus. Myrtilus ſeemed to liſten to his ſuggeſtions with ſatisfaction, but diſcovered the whole to his maſter. Then, by his order, he introduced to Gelon, the chief cupbearer Alexicrates, as a perſon who was willing to enter into the conſpiracy: for Pyrrhus was deſirous to have more than one witneſs to ſo black an enterpriſe. Gelon being thus deceived, Neoptolemus was deceived with him; and, thinking the affair in great forwardneſs, could not contain himſelf, but in the exceſs of his joy mentioned it to his friends. One evening, in particular, being at ſupper with his ſiſter Cadmia, he diſcovered the whole deſign, thinking no body elſe within hearing. And indeed there was none in the room but Phaenarete the wife of Samon chief keeper of Neoptolemus's cattle; and ſhe laid upon a couch with her face turned towards the wall, and ſeemed to be aſleep. She heard, however, the whole, without being ſuſpected, and went the next day to Antigone the wife of Pyrrhus, and related to her all

that

* This preſent was characteriſtical of the ſimplicity of antient times.

that ſhe had heard Neoptolemus ſay to his ſiſter. This was immediately laid before Pyrrhus, who took no notice of it for the preſent. But, on occaſion of a ſolemn ſacrifice, he invited Neoptolemus to ſupper, and took that opportunity to kill him. For he was well aſſured that all the leading men in Epirus were ſtrongly attached to him, and wanted him to remove Neoptolemus out of the way; that, no longer ſatisfied with a ſmall ſhare of the kingdom, he might poſſeſs himſelf of the whole; and by following his genius, riſe to great attempts. And, as they had now a ſtrong ſuſpicion beſides, that Neoptolemus was practiſing againſt him, they thought this was the time to prevent him by giving him the fatal blow.

In acknowledgement of the obligations he had to Berenice and Ptolemy, he named his ſon by Antigone *Ptolemy*, and called the city which he built in the Cherſoneſe of Epirus, Berenicis. From this time he began to conceive many great deſigns, but his firſt hopes laid hold of all that was near home: and he found a plauſible pretence to concern himſelf in the affairs of Macedonia. Antipater, the eldeſt ſon of Caſſander, had killed his mother Theſſalonica, and expelled his brother Alexander. Alexander ſent to Demetrius for ſuccour, and implored likewiſe the aſſiſtance of Pyrrhus. Demetrius, having many affairs upon his hands, could not preſently comply; but Pyrrhus came and demanded, as the reward of his ſervices, the city of * Nymphaea, and all the maritime coaſt of Macedonia, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia, which were ſome of the countries that did not originally belong to the kingdom of Macedon. The young prince agreeing to the conditions, Pyrrhus poſſeſſed himſelf of theſe countries, and ſecured them.

* Dacier thinks Apollonia might be called Nymphaea from Nymphaeum, a celebrated rock in it's neighbourhood. Palmerius would read Tymphaea; that being the name of a town in thoſe parts. There was a city called Nymphaeum in the Taurica Cherſoneſus, but that could not be meant here.

them with his garriſons; after which, he went on conquering the reſt for Alexander, and driving Antipater before him.

King Lyſimachus was well inclined to give Antipater aſſiſtance, but he was ſo much engaged with his own affairs, that he could not find time for it. Recollecting, however, that Pyrrhus would refuſe nothing to his friend Ptolemy, he forged letters in Ptolemy's name, enjoining him to evacuate Macedonia, and to be ſatisfied with three hundred talents from Antipater. But Pyrrhus no ſooner opened the letters, than he perceived the forgery. For, inſtead of the cuſtomary ſalutation, *the father to his ſon, greeting*, they began with, *king Ptolemy to king Pyrrhus, greeting.* He inveighed againſt Lyſimachus for the fraud, but liſtened, notwithſtanding, to propoſals of peace; and the three princes met to offer ſacrifices on the occaſion, and to ſwear upon the altar to the articles. A boar, a bull and a ram being led up as victims, the ram dropped down dead of himſelf. The reſt of the company laughed at the accident; but Theodotus the diviner adviſed Pyrrhus not to ſwear, declaring that the deity preſignified the * death of one of the kings; upon which he refuſed to ratify the peace.

Alexander's affairs were thus advantageouſly ſettled; nevertheleſs Demetrius came. But it ſoon appeared that he came now unrequeſted, and that his preſence excited rather fear than gratitude. When they had been a few days together, in mutual diſtruſt they laid ſnares for each other: but Demetrius finding the firſt opportunity, was beforehand with Alexander, killed him, and got himſelf proclaimed king of Macedon.

He had for a long time had ſubjects of complaint againſt Pyrrhus, on account of the inroads which he had made into Theſſaly. Beſides, that ambition to extend their dominions, which is a diſtemper natural to

* Alexander was murdered ſoon after.

to kings, rendered their neighbourhood mutually alarming. Theſe jealouſies increaſed after the death of Deidamia. At laſt each having poſſeſſed himſelf of part of Macedonia, and having one object in view, the gaining of the whole, this produced of courſe new cauſes of contention. Demetrius marched againſt the Ætolians, and reduced them. After which, he left Pantauchus among them with a conſiderable force, and went himſelf to ſeek Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, as ſoon as he was appriſed of his deſign, went to meet him; but taking a wrong route, they inadvertently paſſed each other. Demetrius entered Epirus, and committed great ravages; and Pyrrhus, falling in with Pantauchus, gave him battle. The diſpute was warm and obſtinate on both ſides, eſpecially where the generals fought. For Pantauchus, who in dexterity, courage and ſtrength ſtood foremoſt among the officers of Demetrius, and withal was a man of a high and ambitious ſpirit, challenged Pyrrhus to the combat. And Pyrrhus, who was behind none of the princes of his time in valour and renown, and who was deſirous to appropriate to himſelf the honours of Achilles, rather by his ſword than by kindred, advanced through the firſt lines againſt Pantauchus. They began with the javelin; and then coming to the ſword, exhauſted all that art or ſtrength could ſupply. Pyrrhus received one wound, and gave his adverſary two, one in the thigh, and the other in the neck; by which he overpowered him, and brought him to the ground; but could not kill him outright, becauſe he was reſcued by his friends. The Epirots, elated with their prince's victory, and admiring his valour, broke into and diſperſed the Macedonian Phalanx, and purſuing the fugitives, killed great numbers of them, and took five thouſand priſoners.

This battle did not ſo much excite the reſentment and hatred of the Macedonians againſt Pyrrhus for what they ſuffered, as it inſpired them with an eſteem

his abilities and admiration of his valour. This furniſhed ſubject of diſcourſe to all who were witneſſes to his exploits, or were engaged againſt him in the action. For he recalled to their minds the countenance, the ſwiftneſs, and motion of Alexander the great; in Pyrrhus they thought they ſaw the very image of his force and impetuoſity. And while the other kings repreſented that hero only in their purple robes, in the number of guards, the bend of the neck, and the lofty manner of ſpeaking, the king of Epirus repreſented him in deeds of arms and perſonal atchievements. And of his great ſkill in ordering and drawing up an army, we have proofs in the writings he left behind him. It is alſo ſaid, that Antigonus, being aſked, "Who was the greateſt general," anſwered, "Pyrrhus would be, if he lived to be old." Antigonus, indeed, ſpoke only of the generals of his time: but Hannibal ſaid that of all the world had ever beheld, the firſt in genius and ſkill was Pyrrhus, Scipio the ſecond, and himſelf the third; as we have written in the life of Scipio*. This was the only ſcience he applied himſelf to; this was the ſubject of his thoughts and converſation: for he conſidered it as a royal ſtudy, and looked upon other arts as mere trifling amuſements. And it is reported that when he was aſked, "Whether he thought Python or Caephiſias the beſt muſician," "Polyſperchon," ſaid he, "is the general;" intimating that this was the only point which it became a king to enquire into or know.

In the intercourſe of life he was mild and not eaſily provoked, but ardent and quick to repay a kindneſs. For this reaſon he was greatly afflicted at the death of Ærópus. "His friend," he ſaid, "had only "paid the tribute to nature, but he blamed and re-"proached

* This is differently related in the life of Flaminius. There it is ſaid, that Hannibal placed Alexander firſt, Pyrrhus ſecond, and himſelf the third.

"proached himſelf for putting off his acknowledge-
"ments, 'till by theſe delays he had loſt the oppor-
"tunity of making any return. For thoſe that owe
"money, can pay it to the heirs of the deceaſed,
"but when a return of kindneſſes is not made to
"a perſon in his life-time, it grieves the heart that
"has any goodneſs and honour in it." When ſome adviſed him to baniſh a certain ill-tongued Ambracian who abuſed him behind his back, "Let the "fellow ſtay here," ſaid he, "and ſpeak againſt me "to a few, rather than ramble about, and give me a "bad character to all the world." And ſome young men having taken great liberties with his character in their cups, and being afterwards brought to anſwer for it, he aſked them, "Whether they had "really ſaid ſuch things?" "We did, ſir," anſwered one of them, "and ſhould have ſaid a great deal "more, if we had had more wine." Upon which, he laughed, and diſmiſſed them.

After the death of Antigone, he married ſeveral wives, for the purpoſes of intereſt and power: namely, the daughter of Autoleon king of the Paeonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis king of the Illyrians; and Lanaſſa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuſe, who brought him in dowry the iſle of Corcyra, which her father had taken. By Antigone he had a ſon named Ptolemy; by Lanaſſa he had Alexander; and by Bircenna, his youngeſt ſon Helenus. All theſe princes had naturally a turn for war, and he quickened their martial ardour by giving them a ſuitable education from their infancy. For it is ſaid, when he was aſked by one of them who was yet a child, "To which of them he would leave "his kingdom," he ſaid, "To him who has the "ſharpeſt ſword." This was very like that tragical legacy of Oedipus to his ſons,

* *The ſword's keen point th' inheritance ſhall part.*

* Pheniſſae of Euripides, ver. 68.

After the battle Pyrrhus returned home diſtinguiſhed with glory, and ſtill more elevated in his ſentiments. The Epirots having given him on this occaſion the name of eagle, he ſaid, "If I am an "eagle, you have made me one; for it is upon your "arms, upon your wings, that I have riſen ſo high."

Soon after, having intelligence that Demetrius lay dangerouſly ill, he ſuddenly entered * Macedonia, intending only an inroad to pillage the country. But he was very near ſeizing the whole, and taking the kingdom without a blow. For he puſhed forward as far as Edeſſa without meeting with any reſiſtance: on the contrary, many of the inhabitants repaired to his camp and joined him. The danger awaked Demetrius, and made him act above his ſtrength. His friends, too, and officers quickly aſſembled a good body of troops, and moved forward with great ſpirit and vigour againſt Pyrrhus. But as he came only with a deſign to plunder, he did not ſtand to receive them. He loſt, however, a conſiderable number of men in his retreat; for the Macedonians harraſſed his rear all the way.

Demetrius, though he had driven out Pyrrhus with ſo much eaſe, was far from ſlighting and deſpiſing him afterwards. But as he meditated great things, and had determined to attempt the recovery of his paternal kingdom with an army of an hundred thouſand men and five hundred ſail of ſhips, he thought it not prudent either to embroil himſelf with Philip, or to leave behind him ſo dangerous a neighbour. And as he was not at leiſure to continue the war with him, he concluded a peace, that he might turn his arms with more ſecurity againſt the † other kings. The deſigns of Demetrius were ſoon diſcovered by this peace, and by the greatneſs of his preparations. The

* In the third year of the hundred and twenty third Olympiad, two hundred and eighty-four years before Chriſt.

† Seleucus, Ptolemy and Lyſimachus.

The kings were alarmed, and ſent ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus with letters, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment, that he neglected his opportunity to make war upon Demetrius. They repreſented with how much eaſe he might drive him out of Macedonia, thus engaged as he was in many troubleſome enterpriſes; inſtead of which, he waited till Demetrius had diſpatched all his other affairs, and was grown ſo much more powerful as to be able to bring the war to his own doors, and to put him under the neceſſity of fighting for the altars of his gods and the ſepulchres of his anceſtors in Moloſſia itſelf: and this too, when he had juſt been deprived by Demetrius of the iſle of Corcyra, together with his wife. For Lanaſſa having her complaints againſt Pyrrhus, for paying more attention to his other wives, though Barbarians, than to her, had retired to Corcyra; and, wanting to marry another king, invited Demetrius to receive her hand, knowing him to be more inclined to marriage than any of the neighbouring princes. Accordingly he ſailed to the iſland, married Lanaſſa, and left a garriſon in the city.

The kings, at the ſame time that they wrote theſe letters to Pyrrhus, took the field themſelves to harraſs Demetrius, who delayed his expedition, and continued his preparations. Ptolemy put to ſea with a great fleet, and drew off many of the Grecian cities. Lyſimachus entered the upper Macedonia from Thrace, and ravaged the country. And Pyrrhus taking up arms at the ſame time, marched againſt Beroea, expecting that Demetrius would go to meet Lyſimachus, and leave the lower Macedonia unguarded; which fell out accordingly. The night before he ſet out, he dreamt that Alexander the Great called him, and that when he came to him, he found him ſick in bed, but was received with many obliging expreſſions of friendſhip, and a promiſe of ſudden aſſiſtance. Pyrrhus ſaid, "How can you, "ſir, who are ſick, be able to aſſiſt me?" Alexander anſwered,

" I will do it with my name:" at the ſame time he mounted a *Niſaean horſe, and ſeemed to lead the way.

Pyrrhus, greatly encouraged by this viſion, advanced with the utmoſt expedition, and having traverſed the intermediate countries, came before Beroea, and took it. There he fixed his head-quarters, and reduced the other cities by his generals. When Demetrius received intelligence of this, and perceived, moreover, a ſpirit of mutiny among the Macedonians in his camp, he was afraid to proceed farther, leſt, when they came in ſight of a Macedonian prince, and one of an illuſtrious character too, they ſhould revolt to him. He, therefore, turned back, and led them againſt Pyrrhus, who was a ſtranger, and the object of their hatred. Upon his encamping near Beroea, many inhabitants of that place mixed with his ſoldiers, and highly extolled Pyrrhus. They repreſented him as a man invincible in arms, of uncommon magnanimity, and one who treated thoſe who fell into his hands with great gentleneſs and humanity. There were alſo ſome of Pyrrhus's emiſſaries, who, pretending themſelves Macedonians, obſerved to Demetrius's men, that then was the time to get free from his cruel yoke, and to embrace the intereſts of Pyrrhus who was a popular man, and who loved a ſoldier. After this, the greateſt part of the army was in a ferment, and they caſt their eyes around for Pyrrhus. It happened that he was then without his helmet; but, recollecting himſelf, he ſoon put it on again, and was immediately known by his lofty plume and his creſt of † goats horns. Many of

* Niſaea was a province near the Caſpian ſea, which Strabo tells us was famous for it's breed of horſes. The kings of Perſia uſed to provide themſelves there. STRABO, lib. xi.

† Alexander the Great is repreſented on his medals with ſuch a creſt. The goat, indeed, was the ſymbol of the kingdom of Macedon. The prophet Daniel uſes it as ſuch. The original of that ſymbol may be found in Juſtin.

of the Macedonians now ran to him, and ‡ begged him to give them the word; while others crowned themſelves with branches of oak, becauſe they ſaw them worn by his men. Some had even the confidence to tell Demetrius, that the moſt prudent part he could take, would be to withdraw, and lay down the government. As he found the motions of the army agreeable to this ſort of diſcourſe, he was terrified, and made off privately, diſguiſed in a mean cloak and a common Macedonian hat. Pyrrhus, upon this, became maſter of the camp without ſtriking a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

Lyſimachus made his appearance ſoon after, and, pretending that he had contributed equally, to the flight of Demetrius, demanded his ſhare of the kingdom. Pyrrhus, as he thought himſelf not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed among the Macedonians, but rather in a dubious ſituation, accepted the propoſal; and they divided the cities and provinces between them. This partition ſeemed to be of ſervice for the preſent, and prevented their going directly to war; but, ſoon after, they found it the beginning of perpetual complaints and quarrels, inſtead of a perfect reconciliation. For how is it poſſible that they whoſe ambition is not to be terminated by ſeas and mountains and uninhabitable deſerts, whoſe thirſt of dominion is not to be confined by the bounds that part Europe and Aſia, ſhould, when ſo near each other, and joined in one lot, ſit down contented, and abſtain from mutual injuries? undoubtedly they are always at war in their hearts, having the ſeeds of perfidy and envy there. As for the names of Peace and War, they apply them occaſionally, like money, to their uſe, not to the purpoſes of juſtice. And they act with much more probity, when they profeſſedly make war, than

‡ συνθημα προστρεχοντας αιτειν.——
συνθημα may ſignify *the word*, becauſe it helps to keep the ſoldiers together.

than when they ſanctify a ſhort truce and ceſſation of mutual injuries, with the names of juſtice and friendſhip. Pyrrhus was a proof of this. For oppoſing Demetrius again, when his affairs began to be a little reeſtabliſhed, and checking his power, which ſeemed to be recovering, as it were, from a great illneſs, he marched to the aſſiſtance of the Grecians, and went in perſon to Athens. He aſcended into the citadel, and ſacrificed to the goddeſs; after which, he came down into the city the ſame day, and thus addreſſed the people, "I think myſelf happy in this teſtimony "of the kind regard of the Athenians, and of the "confidence they put in me; I adviſe them, however, "as they tender their ſafety, never to admit another "king within their walls, but to ſhut their * gates "againſt all that ſhall deſire it."

Soon after this he concluded a peace with Demetrius: And yet Demetrius was no ſooner paſſed into Aſia, than Pyrrhus, at the inſtigation of Lyſimachus, drew off Theſſaly from it's allegiance, and attacked his garriſons in Greece. He found, indeed, the Macedonians better ſubjects in time of war than in peace, beſides that he himſelf was more fit for action than repoſe. At laſt Demetrius being entirely defeated in Syria, Lyſimachus who had nothing to fear from that quarter, nor any other affairs to engage him, immediately turned his forces againſt Pyrrhus, who lay in quarters at Edeſſa. Upon his arrival, he fell upon one of the king's convoys, and took it, by which he greatly diſtreſſed his troops for want of proviſions. Beſide this, he corrupted the principal Macedonians by his letters and emiſſaries; reproaching them for chuſing for their ſovereign a ſtranger, whoſe anceſtors had always been ſubject to the Macedonians, while they expelled the friends and companions of Alexander. As the majority liſtened to theſe ſuggeſtions, Pyrrhus, fearing the event,

* The Athenians followed his advice, and drove out Demetrius's garriſon.

event, withdrew with his Epirots and auxiliary forces, and ſo loſt Macedonia in the ſame manner he had gained it. Kings, therefore, have no reaſon to blame the people for changing for intereſt, ſince in that they do but imitate their maſters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiouſneſs, and who think that man moſt capable of ſerving them who pays the leaſt regard to honeſty.

When Pyrrhus had thus retired into Epirus, and left Macedonia, he had a fair occaſion given him by fortune to enjoy himſelf in quiet, and to govern his own kingdom in peace. But he was perſuaded, that neither to annoy others, nor to be annoyed by them, was a life inſufferably languiſhing and tedious. Like Achilles, he could not endure inaction:

He pin'd in dull repoſe: his heart indignant
Bade the ſcene change to war, to wounds and death.

His anxiety for freſh employment was relieved as follows. The Romans were then at war with the Tarentines. The latter were not able to ſupport the diſpute, and yet the bold and turbulent harangues of their leading men would not ſuffer them to put an end to it. They reſolved, therefore, to call in Pyrrhus, and put their forces under his command; there being no other prince who had then ſo much leiſure, or was ſo able a general. The oldeſt and moſt ſenſible of the citizens oppoſed this meaſure, but were overborne by the noiſe and violence of the multitude; and when they ſaw this, they no longer attended the aſſemblies. But there was a worthy man, named Meton, who, on the day that the decree was to be ratified, after the people had taken their ſeats, came into the aſſembly, with an air of intoxication, having, like perſons in that condition, a withered garland upon his head, a torch in his hand, and a woman playing on the flute before him. As no decorum can well be obſerved by a crowd of people in a free ſtate, ſome clapped their hands, others laughed;

laughed; but nobody pretended to ſtop him. On the contrary, they called upon the woman to play, and him to come forward and ſing. Silence being made, he ſaid, "Men of Tarentum, ye do extremely "well, to ſuffer thoſe who have a mind to it, to play "and be merry, while they may; and if you are "wiſe, you will all now enjoy the ſame liberty: for "you muſt have other buſineſs and another kind of "life, when Pyrrhus once enters your city." This addreſs made a great impreſſion upon the Tarentines, and a whiſper of aſſent ran through the aſſembly. But ſome fearing that they ſhould be delivered up to the Romans, if peace were made, reproached the people with ſo tamely ſuffering themſelves to be made a jeſt of, and inſulted by a drunkard; and then turning upon Meton, they thruſt him out. The decree thus being confirmed, they ſent ambaſſadors to Epirus, not only in the name of the Tarentines, but of the other Greeks in Italy, with preſents to Pyrrhus, and orders to tell him, "That they wanted a general "of ability and character. As for troops he would "find a large ſupply of them upon the ſpot, from "the Lucanians, the Meſſapians, the Samnites and "Tarentines, to the amount of twenty thouſand "horſe, and three hundred and fifty thouſand foot." Theſe promiſes not only elevated Pyrrhus, but raiſed in the Epirots a ſtrong inclination to the war.

There was then at the court of Pyrrhus, a Theſſalian named Cineas, a man of ſound ſenſe, and who having been a diſciple of Demoſthenes, was the only orator of his time that preſented his hearers with a lively image of the force and ſpirit of that great maſter. This man had devoted himſelf to Pyrrhus, and in all the embaſſies he was employed in, confirmed that ſaying of Euripides,

The gates that ſteel exclude, reſiſtleſs eloquence ſhall enter.

This

This made Pyrrhus ſay, "that Cineas had gained "him more cities by his addreſs, than he had won "by his arms:" and he continued to heap honours and employments upon him. Cineas now ſeeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he ſaw him at leiſure, to draw him into the following converſation. "The Romans "have the reputation of being excellent ſoldiers, "and have the command of many warlike nations; "if it pleaſe heaven that we conquer them, what "uſe, ſir, ſhall we make of our victory?" "Cineas," replied the king, "your queſtion anſwers itſelf. "When the Romans are once ſubdued, there is no "town, whether Greek or Barbarian, in all the "country, that will dare oppoſe us; but we ſhall "immediately be maſters of all Italy, whoſe great-"neſs, power and importance no man knows better "than you." Cineas, after a ſhort pauſe, continued, "But, after we have conquered Italy, what ſhall we "do next, ſir?" Pyrrhus not yet perceiving his drift, replied, "There is Sicily very near, and ſtretches "out her arms to receive us, a fruitful and popu-"lous iſland, and eaſy to be taken. For Agathocles "was no ſooner gone, than faction and anarchy pre-"vailed among her cities, and every thing is kept "in confuſion by her turbulent demagogues." "What you ſay, my prince," ſaid Cineas, "is very "probable: but is the taking of Sicily to conclude "our expeditions?" "Far from it," anſwered Pyr-rhus, "for if heaven grant us ſucceſs in this, that "ſucceſs ſhall only be the prelude to greater things. "Who can forbear Lybia and Carthage, then within "reach; which Agathocles, even when he fled in a "clandeſtine manner from Syracuſe, and croſſed the "ſea with a few ſhips only, had almoſt made him-"ſelf maſter of: And when we have made ſuch "conqueſts, who can pretend to ſay, that any of our "enemies, who are now ſo inſolent, will think of "reſiſting us?" "To be ſure," ſaid Cineas, "they will

"will not: for it is clear that ſo much power will "enable you to recover Macedonia, and to eſtabliſh "yourſelf unconteſted ſovereign of Greece. But "when we have conquered all, what are we to do "then?" "Why then, my friend," ſaid Pyrrhus laughing, "we will take our eaſe, and drink and be "merry." Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied, "And what hinders us from drinking and "taking our eaſe now, when we have already thoſe "things in our hands, at which we propoſe to arrive "through ſeas of blood, through infinite toils and "dangers, through innumerable calamities which we "muſt both cauſe and ſuffer?"

This diſcourſe of Cineas gave Pyrrhus pain, but produced no reformation. He ſaw the certain happineſs which he gave up, but was not able to forego the hopes that flattered his deſires. In the firſt place, therefore, he ſent Cineas to Tarentum with three thouſand foot: from whence there arrived, ſoon after, a great number of galleys, tranſports and flat-bottomed boats, on board of which he put twenty Elephants, three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand archers, and five hundred ſlingers. When all was ready, he ſet ſail; but as ſoon as he was got into the midſt of the Ionian, he was attacked by a violent wind at north, which was unuſual at that ſeaſon. The ſtorm raged terribly, but by the ſkill and extraordinary efforts of his pilots and mariners, his ſhip made the Italian ſhore, with infinite labour and beyond all expectation. The reſt of the fleet could not hold their courſe, but were diſperſed far and wide. Some of the ſhips were quite beaten off from the coaſt of Italy, and driven into the Lybian and Sicilian ſea: others, not being able to double the cape of Japygia, were overtaken by the night; and, a great and boiſterous ſea driving them upon a difficult and rocky ſhore, they were all in the utmoſt diſtreſs. The king's ſhip, indeed, by it's ſize and

ſtrength,

ſtrength, reſiſted the force of the waves, while the wind blew from the ſea: but that coming about, and blowing directly from the ſhore, the ſhip, as ſhe ſtood with her head againſt it, was in danger of opening by the ſhocks ſhe received. And yet to be driven off again into a tempeſtuous ſea, while the wind continually ſhifted from point to point, ſeemed the moſt dreadful caſe of all. In this extremity Pyrrhus threw himſelf overboard, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who ſtrove which ſhould give him the beſt aſſiſtance. But the darkneſs of the night, and the roaring and reſiſtance of the waves, which beat upon the ſhore, and were driven back with equal violence, rendered it extremely difficult to ſave him. At laſt, by day-break the wind being conſiderably fallen, with much ſtruggle he got aſhore, greatly weakened in body, but with a ſtrength and firmneſs of mind which bravely combated the diſtreſs. At the ſame time the Meſſapians, on whoſe coaſt he was caſt, ran down to give them all the ſuccour in their power. They alſo met with ſome other of his veſſels that had weathered the ſtorm, in which were a ſmall number of horſe, not quite two thouſand foot, and two elephants. With theſe Pyrrhus marched to Tarentum.

When Cineas was informed of this, he drew out his forces, and went to meet him. Pyrrhus, upon his arrival at Tarentum, did not chuſe to have recourſe to compulſion at firſt, nor to do any thing againſt the inclination of the inhabitants, 'till his ſhips were ſafe arrived, and the greateſt part of his forces collected. But, after this, ſeeing the Tarentines, ſo far from being in a condition to defend others, that they would not even defend themſelves, except they were driven to it by neceſſity; and that they ſate ſtill at home, and ſpent their time about the baths or in feaſting and idle talk, as expecting that he would fight for them; he ſhut up the places of exerciſe and the walks, where they uſed, as they

ſauntered along, to conduct the war with words. He alſo put a ſtop to their unſeaſonable entertainments, revels and diverſions. Inſtead of theſe, he called them to arms, and in his muſters and reviews was ſevere and inexorable: ſo that many of them quitted the place; for being unaccuſtomed to be under command, they called that a ſlavery which was not a life of pleaſure.

He now received intelligence that Laevinus, the Roman conſul, was coming againſt him with a great army, and ravaging Lucania by the way. And though the confederates were not come up, yet looking upon it as a diſgrace to ſit ſtill and ſee the enemy approach ſtill nearer, he took the field with the troops he had. But firſt he ſent a herald to the Romans, with propoſals, before they came to extremities to terminate their differences amicably with the Greeks in Italy, by taking him for the mediator and umpire. Laevinas anſwered, "That the Romans neither accepted Pyrrhus as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy." Whereupon, he marched forward, and encamped upon the plain betwen the cities of Pandoſia and Heraclea: and having notice that the Romans were near, and lay on the other ſide of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to take a view of them. When he ſaw the order of their troops, the appointment of their watches, and the regularity of their whole encampment, he was ſtruck with admiration, and ſaid to a friend who was by, "Megacles, the diſpoſition of theſe Barbarians has nothing of the Barbarian in it; we ſhall ſee whether the reſt will anſwer it." He now became ſolicitous for the event, and determining to wait for the allies, ſet a guard upon the river, to oppoſe the Romans, if they ſhould endeavour to paſs it. The Romans, on their part, haſtening to prevent the coming up of thoſe forces which he had reſolved to wait for, attempted the paſſage. The infantry took to the fords, and the cavalry got over wherever they could;

could: ſo that the Greeks were afraid of being ſurrounded and retreated to their main body.

Pyrrhus, greatly concerned at this, ordered his foot-officers to draw up the forces, and to ſtand to their arms; while he advanced with the horſe, who were about three thouſand, in hopes of finding the Romans yet buſied in the paſſage, and diſperſed without any order. But when he ſaw a great number of ſhields glittering above the water, and the horſe preſerving their ranks as they paſſed, he cloſed his own ranks and began the attack. Beſide his being diſtinguiſhed by the beauty and luſtre of his arms, which were of very curious fabric, he performed acts of valour worthy the great reputation he had acquired. For, though he expoſed his perſon in the hotteſt of the engagement, and charged with the greateſt vigour, he was never in the leaſt diſturbed, nor loſt his preſence of mind; but gave his orders as coolly as if he had been out of the action, and moved to this ſide or that as occaſion required, to ſupport his men where he ſaw them maintaining an unequal fight.

Leonatus of Macedon obſerved an Italian horſeman very intent upon Pyrrhus, changing his poſt as he did, and regulating all his motions by his. Whereupon he rode up, and ſaid to him, "Do you "ſee, ſir, that Barbarian upon the black horſe with "white feet? he ſeems to meditate ſome great and "dreadful deſign. He keeps you in his eye; full "of fire and ſpirit, he ſingles you out, and takes "no notice of any body elſe. Therefore be on "your guard againſt him." Pyrrhus anſwered, "It "is impoſſible, Leonatus, to avoid our deſtiny. But "neither this nor any other Italian ſhall have much "ſatisfaction in engaging with me." While they were yet ſpeaking, the Italian levelled his ſpear, and ſpurred his horſe againſt Pyrrhus. He miſſed the king, but run his horſe through, as Leonatus did the Italian's the ſame moment, ſo that both horſes

fell together. Pyrrhus was carried off by his friends who gathered round him, and killed the Italian, who fought to the very laſt This brave man had the command of a troop of horſe; Ferentum was the place of his birth, and his name Oplacus.

This made Pyrrhus more cautious. And now ſeeing his cavalry give ground, he ſent his infantry orders to advance, and formed them as ſoon as they came up. Then giving his robe and his arms to Megacles one of his friends, he diſguiſed himſelf in his, and proceeded to the charge. The Romans received him with great firmneſs, and the ſucceſs of the battle remained long undecided. It is even ſaid, that each army was broken and gave way ſeven times, and rallied as often. He changed his arms very ſeaſonably, for that ſaved his life; but at the ſame time it had nearly ruined his affairs, and loſt him the victory. Many aimed at Megacles; but the man who firſt wounded him and brought him to the ground, was named Dexous. Dexous ſeized his helmet and his robe, and rode up to Laevinus, ſhewing the ſpoils, and crying out that he had ſlain Pyrrhus. The ſpoils being paſſed from rank to rank, as it were in triumph, the Roman army ſhouted for joy, while that of the Greeks was ſtruck with grief and conſternation. This held 'till Pyrrhus, appriſed of what had happened, rode about the army uncovered, ſtretching out his hand to his ſoldiers, and giving them to know him by his voice. At laſt the Romans were worſted, chiefly by means of the elephants. For the horſes, before they came near them, were frightened, and ran back with their riders; and Pyrrhus commanding his Theſſalian cavalry to fall upon them while in this diſorder, they were routed with great ſlaughter. Dionyſius writes, that near fifteen thouſand Romans fell in this battle; but Hieronymus makes the number only ſeven thouſand. On Pyrrhus's ſide, Dionyſius ſays, there were thirteen thouſand killed; Hieronymus not quite four thouſand.

ſand. Among theſe, however, were the moſt valuable of his friends and officers, whoſe ſervices he had made great uſe of, and in whom he had placed the higheſt confidence.

Pyrrhus immediately entered the Roman camp, which he found deſerted. He gained over many cities which had been in alliance with Rome, and laid waſte the territories of others. Nay, he advanced to within thirty-ſeven miles of Rome itſelf. The Lucanians and the Samnites joined him after the battle, and were reproved for their delay; but it was plain that he was greatly elevated and delighted, with having defeated ſo powerful an army of Romans with the aſſiſtance of the Tarentines only.

The Romans, on this occaſion, did not take the command from Laevinus, though Caius Fabricius is reported to have ſaid; "That the Romans were not "overcome by the Epirots, but Laevinus by Pyr-"rhus:" intimating, that the defeat was owing to the inferiority of the general, not of his troops. Then raiſing new levies, filling up their legions, and talking in a lofty and menacing tone about the war, they ſtruck Pyrrhus with amazement. He thought proper, therefore, to ſend an embaſſy to them firſt, to try whether they were diſpoſed to peace; being ſatisfied that to take the city, and make an abſolute conqueſt, was an undertaking of too much difficulty to be effected by ſuch an army as his was at that time; whereas if he could bring them to terms of accommodation, and conclude a peace with them, it would be very glorious for him after ſuch a victory.

Cineas, who was ſent with this commiſſion, applied to the great men, and ſent them and their wives preſents in his maſter's name. But they all refuſed them; the women as well as the men declaring, "That when Rome had publickly ratified a treaty "with the king, they ſhould then on their parts be "ready to give him every mark of their friendſhip

" and reſpect." And though Cineas made a very engaging ſpeech to the ſenate, and uſed many arguments to induce them to cloſe with him, yet they lent not a willing ear to his propoſitions, notwithſtanding that Pyrrhus offered to reſtore without ranſom the priſoners he had made in the battle, and promiſed to aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of Italy, deſiring nothing in return but their friendſhip for himſelf and ſecurity for the Tarentines. Some, indeed, ſeemed inclined to peace, urging that they had already loſt a great battle, and had a ſtill greater to expect, ſince Pyrrhus was joined by ſeveral nations in Italy. There was then an illuſtrious Roman, Appius Claudius by name, who, on account of his great age and the loſs of his ſight, had declined all attendance to public buſineſs. But when he heard of the embaſſy from Pyrrhus, and the report prevailed that the ſenate was going to vote for the peace, he could not contain himſelf, but ordered his ſervants to take him up, and carry him in his chair through the forum to the ſenate-houſe. When he was brought to the door, his ſons and his ſons-in-law received him, and led him into the ſenate. A reſpectful ſilence was obſerved by the whole body on his appearance: and he delivered his ſentiments in the following terms, " Hitherto I have regarded my blindneſs " as a misfortune, but now, Romans, I wiſh I had been " as deaf as I am blind. For then I ſhould not have " heard of your ſhameful counſels and decrees ſo " ruinous to the glory of Rome. Where now are " your ſpeeches ſo much echoed about the world, " that if Alexander the great had come into Italy, " when we were young, and your fathers in the vi- " gour of their age, he would not now be celebrated " as invincible, but either by his flight or his fall " would have added to the glory of Rome? you " now ſhew the vanity and folly of that boaſt, while " you dread the Chaonians and Moloſſians, who " were ever a prey to the Macedonians, and tremble

at

" at the name of Pyrrhus, who has all his life been " paying his court to one of the guards of that " Alexander. At preſent he wanders about Italy, " not ſo much to ſuccour the Greeks here, as to " avoid his enemies at home; and he promiſes to " procure us the empire of this country with thoſe " forces, which could not enable him to keep a ſmall " part of Macedonia. Do not expect, then, to get " rid of him, by entering into alliance with him. " That ſtep will only open a door to many invaders. " For who is there that will not deſpiſe you, and " think you an eaſy conqueſt, if Pyrrhus not only " eſcapes unpuniſhed for his inſolence, but gains the " Tarentines and Samnites, as a reward for inſulting " the Romans?"

Appius had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than they voted unanimouſly for the war, and diſmiſſed Cineas with this anſwer, " That when Pyrrhus had quitted " Italy, they would enter upon a treaty of friend- " ſhip and alliance with him, if he deſired it: but " while he continued there in a hoſtile manner, they " would proſecute the war againſt him with all their " force, though he ſhould have defeated a thouſand " Laevinus's."

It is ſaid, that Cineas, while he was upon this buſineſs, took great pains to obſerve the manners of the Romans, and to examine into the nature of their government. And when he had learnt what he deſired by converſing with their great men, he made a faithful report of all to Pyrrhus; and told him, among the reſt, " That the ſenate appeared to him an aſ- " ſembly of kings; and as to the people, they were ſo " numerous, that he was afraid he had to do with a " Lernaean hydra." For the conſul had already an army on foot twice as large as the former, and had left multitudes behind in Rome of a proper age for enliſting, and ſufficient to form many ſuch armies.

After this, Fabricius came ambaſſador to Pyrrhus to treat about the ranſom and exchange of priſoners.

Fabricius, as Cineas informed Pyrrhus, was highly valued by the Romans for his probity and martial abilities, but he was extremely poor. Pyrrhus received him with particular diſtinction, and privately offered him gold; not for any baſe purpoſe; but he begged him to accept of it as a pledge of friendſhip and hoſpitality. Fabricius refuſing the preſent, Pyrrhus preſſed him no farther: but the next day wanting to ſurpriſe him, and knowing that he had never ſeen an elephant, he ordered the biggeſt he had, to be armed and placed behind a curtain in the room where they were to be in conference. Accordingly this was done, and upon a ſign given, the curtain drawn; and the elephant raiſing his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made a horrid and frightful noiſe. Fabricius turned about without being in the leaſt diſcompoſed, and ſaid to Pyrrhus ſmiling, "Neither your "gold yeſterday, nor your beaſt to day, has made "any impreſſion upon me."

In the evening, the converſation at table turned upon many ſubjects, but chiefly upon Greece and the Grecian philoſophers. This led Cineas to mention *Epicurus, and to give ſome account of the opinions of his ſect concerning the gods and civil government. He ſaid, they placed the chief happineſs of man in pleaſure, and avoided all concern in the adminiſtration of affairs as the bane of a happy life; and that they attributed to the deity neitheir benevolence nor anger, but maintained, that, far removed from the care of human affairs, he paſſed his time in eaſe and inactivity, and was totally immerſed in pleaſure. While he was yet ſpeaking, Fabricius cried out, "O hea-"vens! may Pyrrhus and the Samnites adopt theſe "opinions as long as they are at war with the Ro-"mans!"

* Epicurus was then living. The doctrines of that philoſopher were greatly in vogue in Rome, juſt before the ruin of the commonwealth.

"mans!" Pyrrhus admiring the noble ſentiments and principles of Fabricius, was more deſirous than ever of eſtabliſhing a friendſhip with Rome, inſtead of continuing the war. And taking Fabricius aſide, he preſſed him to mediate a peace, and then go and ſettle at his court, where he ſhould be his moſt intimate companion, and the chief of his generals. Fabricius anſwered in a low voice, "That, Sir, would be no "advantage to you: for thoſe who now honour "and admire you, ſhould they once have expe-"rience of me, would rather chuſe to be governed "by me than by you." Such was the character of Fabricius.

Pyrrhus, far from being offended at this anſwer, or taking it like a tyrant, made his friends acquainted with the magnanimity of Fabricius, and entruſted the priſoners to him only, on condition that if the ſenate did not agree to a peace, they ſhould be ſent back, after they had embraced their relations, and celebrated the Saturnalia.

After this, Fabricius being * conſul, an unknown perſon came to his camp with a letter from the king's phyſician, who offered to take off Pyrrhus by poiſon, and ſo end the war without any farther hazard to the Romans, provided that they gave him a proper compenſation for his ſervices. Fabricius deteſted the man's villainy; and, having brought his collegue into the ſame ſentiments, ſent diſpatches to Pyrrhus without loſing a moment's time, to caution him againſt the treaſon. The letter ran thus:

"Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, conſuls,
"to king Pyrrhus, health.

"It appears that you judge very ill both of your "friends and enemies. For you will find by this "letter which was ſent to us, that you are at war "with men of virtue and honour, and truſt knaves "and

* Two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years before Chriſt.

" and villains. Nor is it out of kindneſs that we " give you this information; but we do it, leſt your " death ſhould bring a diſgrace upon us, and we " ſhould ſeem to have put a period to the war by " treachery, when we could not do it by valour."

Pyrrhus having read the letter, and detected the treaſon, puniſhed the phyſician; and, to ſhew his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans, he delivered up the priſoners without ranſom, and ſent Cineas again to negotiate a peace. The Romans, unwilling to receive a favour from an enemy, or a reward for not conſenting to an ill thing, did indeed receive the priſoners at his hands, but ſent him an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites. As to peace and friendſhip, they would not hear any propoſals about it, 'till Pyrrhus ſhould have laid down his arms, drawn his forces out of Italy, and returned to Epirus in the ſame ſhips in which he came.

His affairs now requiring another battle, he aſſembled his army, and marched and attacked the Romans near Aſculum. The ground was very rough and uneven, and *marſhy alſo towards the river, ſo that it was extremely inconvenient for the cavalry, and quite prevented the elephants from acting with the infantry. For this reaſon he had a great number of men killed and wounded, and might have been entirely defeated, had not night put an end to the battle. Next day, contriving, by an act of generalſhip, to engage upon even ground, where his elephants might come at the enemy, he ſeized in time that difficult poſt where they fought the day before. Then he planted a number of archers and ſlingers among his elephants; thickened his other ranks; and moved forward in good order, though with great force and impetuoſity againſt the Romans.

The Romans, who had not now the advantage of ground for attacking and retreating as they pleaſed, were

* ἰλωδης ſignifies *marſhy*, as well as *woody*.

were obliged to fight upon the plain man to man. They haſtened to break the enemy's infantry, before the elephants came up, and made prodigious efforts with their ſwords againſt the pikes; not regarding themſelves or the wounds they received, but only looking where they might ſtrike and ſlay. After a long diſpute, however, the Romans were forced to give way; which they did firſt where Pyrrhus fought in perſon; for they could not reſiſt the fury of his attack. Indeed, it was the force and weight of the elephants, which put them quite to the rout. The Roman valour being of no uſe againſt thoſe fierce creatures, the troops thought it wiſer to give way, as to an overwhelming torrent or an earthquake, than to fall in a fruitleſs oppoſition, when they could gain no advantage, though they ſuffered the greateſt extremities. And they had not far to fly before they gained their camp. Hieronymus ſays the Romans loſt ſix thouſand men in the action, and Pyrrhus, according to the account in his own commentaries, loſt three thouſand five hundred. Nevertheleſs, Dionyſius does not tell us, that there were two battles at Aſculum, nor that it was clear that the Romans were defeated; but that the action laſted 'till ſun-ſet, and then the combatants parted unwillingly, Pyrrhus being wounded in the arm with a javelin, and the Samnites having plundered his baggage; and that the number of the ſlain, counting the loſs on both ſides, amounted to above fifteen thouſand men. When they had all quitted the field, and Pyrrhus was congratulated on the victory, he ſaid, "Such "another victory, and we are undone." For he had loſt great part of the forces which he brought with him, and all his friends and officers, except a very ſmall number. He had no others to ſend for, to ſupply their place, and he found his confederates here very cold and ſpiritleſs. Whereas the Romans filled up their legions with eaſe and diſpatch, from an inexhauſtible fountain which they had at home; and

their

their defeats were ſo far from diſcouraging them, that indignation gave them freſh ſtrength and ardour for the war.

Amidſt theſe difficulties, new hopes, as vain as the former, offered themſelves to Pyrrhus, and enterpriſes which diſtracted him in the choice. On one ſide, embaſſadors came from Sicily, who propoſed to put Syracuſe, Agrigentum and the city of the Leontines in his hands, and deſired him to drive the Carthaginians out of the iſland, and free it from tyrants: and on the other ſide, news was brought him from Greece, that Ptolemy Ceraunus was ſlain in battle by the Gauls, and that this would be a ſeaſonable juncture for him to offer himſelf to the Macedonians who wanted a *king. On this occaſion he complained greatly of fortune, for offering him two ſuch glorious opportunities of action at once: and, afflicted to think that in embracing one, he muſt neceſſarily give up the other, he was a long time perplexed and doubtful which to fix upon. At laſt the expedition to Sicily appearing to him the more important, by reaſon of its nearneſs to Africa, he determined to go thither, and immediately diſpatched Cineas before him, according to cuſtom, to treat with the cities on his behalf. He placed, however, a ſtrong garriſon in Tarentum, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the people; who inſiſted that he ſhould either fulfil the purpoſe he came for, by ſtaying to aſſiſt them effectually in the Roman war, or, if he would be gone, to leave their city as he found it. But he gave them a ſevere anſwer, ordered them to be quiet and wait his time, and ſo ſet ſail.

When he arrived in Sicily, he found every thing diſpoſed agreeably to his hopes. The cities readily put

* Ptolemy Ceraunus was ſlain three years before, during the conſulate of Laevinus. After him the Macedonians had ſeveral kings in quick ſucceſſion. All, therefore, that the letters could import, muſt be, that the Macedonians would prefer Pyrrhus to Antigonus, who at preſent was in poſſeſſion.

put themſelves in his hands: and wherever force was neceſſary, nothing at firſt made any conſiderable reſiſtance to his arms. But with thirty thouſand foot, two thouſand five hundred horſe, and two hundred ſail of ſhips, he advanced againſt the Carthaginians, drove them before him, and ruined their province. Eryx was the ſtrongeſt city in thoſe parts, and the beſt provided with men for it's defence; yet he reſolved to take it by ſtorm. As ſoon as his army was in readineſs to give the aſſault, he armed himſelf at all points; and, advancing towards the walls, made a vow to Hercules of games and ſacrifices in acknowledgment of the victory, if in that day's action he ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf before the Greeks in Sicily, in a manner that became his great deſcent and his fortunes. Then he ordered the ſignal to be given by ſound of trumpet; and having driven the barbarians from the walls with his miſſive weapons, he planted the ſcaling-ladders, and was himſelf the firſt that mounted.

There he was attacked by a crowd of enemies, ſome of whom he drove back, others he puſhed down from the wall on both ſides; but the greateſt part he ſlew with his ſword, ſo that there was quite a rampart of dead bodies around him. In the mean time he himſelf received not the leaſt harm, but appeared to his enemies in the awful character of ſome ſuperior being; ſhewing on this occaſion, that Homer ſpoke with judgment and knowledge, when he repreſented valour as the only virtue which diſcovers a divine energy, and thoſe enthuſiaſtic tranſports which raiſe a man above himſelf. When the city was taken, he offered a magnificent ſacrifice to Hercules, and exhibited a variety of ſhows and games.

Of all the barbarians, thoſe about Meſſena, who were called Mamertines, gave the Greeks the moſt trouble, and had ſubjected many of them to tribute. They were a numerous and warlike people, and thence had the appellation of Mamertines, which in

in the Latin tongue ſignifies Martial. But Pyrrhus ſeized the collectors of the tribute, and put them to death; and having defeated the Mamertines in a ſet battle, he deſtroyed many of their ſtrong holds.

The Carthaginians were now inclined to peace, and offered him both money and ſhips, on condition that he granted them his friendſhip. But, having farther proſpects, he made anſwer, that there was only one way to peace and friendſhip, which was, for the Carthaginians to evacuate Sicily, and make the Lybian ſea the boundary between them and the Greeks. Elated with proſperity and his preſent ſtrength, he thought of nothing but purſuing the hopes which firſt drew him into Sicily.

His firſt object now was Africa. He had veſſels enough for his purpoſe, but he wanted mariners. And in the collecting of them he was far from proceeding with lenity and moderation: on the contrary, he carried it to the cities with a high hand and with great rigour, ſeconding his orders for a ſupply with force, and ſeverely chaſtiſing thoſe who diſobeyed them. This was not the conduct which he had obſerved at firſt; for then he was gracious and affable to an extreme, placed an entire confidence in the people, and avoided giving them the leaſt uneaſineſs. By theſe means he had gained their hearts. But now turning from a popular prince into a tyrant, his auſterity drew upon him the imputation both of ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs. Neceſſity, however, obliged them to furniſh him with what he demanded, though they were little diſpoſed to it. But what chiefly alienated their affections, was his behaviour to Thonon and Soſtratus, two perſons of the greateſt authority in Syracuſe. Theſe were the men who firſt invited him into Sicily, who upon his arrival immediately put their city in his hands, and who had been the principal inſtruments of the great things he had done in the iſland. Yet his ſuſpicions would neither let him take them with him, nor leave them behind

behind him. Soſtratus took the alarm and fled. Whereupon Thonon was ſeized by Pyrrhus, who alledged that he was an accomplice with Soſtratus, and put him to death. Then his affairs ran to ruin, not gradually and by little and little, but all at once. And the violent hatred which the cities conceived for him, led ſome of them to join the Carthaginians, and others the Mamertines. While he thus ſaw nothing around him but cabals, ſeditions and inſurrections, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who being quite driven out of the field, and with difficulty defending themſelves within their walls, begged his aſſiſtance. This afforded a handſome pretence for his departure, without it's being called a flight and an abſolute giving up his affairs in Sicily. But the truth was, that no longer being able to hold the iſland, he quitted it, like a ſhattered ſhip, and threw himſelf again into Italy. It is reported, that, as he ſailed away, he looked back upon the iſle, and ſaid to thoſe about him, "What a field we leave the "Carthaginians and Romans to exerciſe their arms "in!" and his conjecture was ſoon after verified.

The Barbarians roſe againſt him as he ſet ſail; and being attacked by the Carthaginians on his paſſage, he loſt many of his ſhips: with the remainder he gained the Italian ſhore. The Mamertines, to the number of ten thouſand, had got thither before him; and, though they were afraid to come to a pitched battle, yet they attacked and harraſſed him in the difficult paſſes, and put his whole army in diſorder. He loſt two elephants, and a conſiderable part of his rear was cut in pieces. But he immediately puſhed from the van to their aſſiſtance, and riſqued his perſon in the boldeſt manner, againſt men trained by long practice to war, who fought with a ſpirit of reſentment. In this diſpute he received a wound in the head, which forced him to retire a little out of the battle, and animated the enemy ſtill more. One of them, therefore, who was diſtinguiſhed both by his

his ſize and arms, advanced before the lines, and with a loud voice called upon him to come forth if he was alive. Pyrrhus incenſed at this, returned with his guards, and, with a viſage ſo fierce with anger, and ſo beſmeared with blood, that it was dreadful to look upon, made his way through his battalions, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances. Thus ruſhing upon the Barbarian, he prevented his blow, and gave him ſuch a ſtroke on the head with his ſword, that, with the ſtrength of his arm, and the excellent temper of the weapon, he cleaved him quite down, and in one moment the parts fell aſunder. This atchievement ſtopped the courſe of the Barbarians, who were ſtruck with admiration and amazement at Pyrrhus, as at a ſuperior Being. He made the reſt of his march, therefore, without diſturbance, and arrived at Tarentum with twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. Then taking with him the beſt troops that he found there, he advanced immediately againſt the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

The affairs of the Samnites were run to ruin, and their ſpirits ſunk, becauſe they had been beaten in ſeveral battles by the Romans. There remained alſo in their hearts ſome reſentment againſt Pyrrhus on account of his leaving them to go to Sicily, ſo that few of them repaired to his ſtandard. The forces that he had, he divided into two bodies, one of which he detached into Lucania, to keep one * of the conſuls employed, and hinder him from aſſiſting his collegue: with the other corps he marched in perſon againſt the other conſul Manius Curius, who lay ſafely entrenched near the city of Beneventum, and declined fighting, as well in expectation of the ſuccours from Lucania, as on account of his being deterred from action by the augurs and ſoothſayers.

Pyrrhus

* Aulus Cornelius Lentulus.

Pyrrhus haſtening to attack him before he could be joined by his collegue, took the choiceſt of his troops and the moſt warlike of his elephants, and puſhed forward in the night to ſurpriſe his camp. But as he had a long circuit to take, and the roads were entangled with trees and buſhes, his lights failed, and numbers of his men loſt their way. Thus the night eſcaped. At day-break he was diſcovered by the enemy deſcending from the heights, which cauſed no ſmall diſorder in their camp. Manius, however, finding the ſacrifices auſpicious, and the time preſſing, iſſued out of his trenches, attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and put them to flight. This ſpread a conſternation through their whole army, ſo that many of them were killed, and ſome of the elephants taken. On the other hand, the ſucceſs led Manius to try a pitched battle. Engaging, therefore, in the open field, one of his wings defeated one of the enemy's; but the other was borne down by the elephants, and driven back to the trenches. In this exigency he called for thoſe troops that were left to guard the camp, who were all freſh men and well-armed. Theſe, as they deſcended from their advantageous ſituation, pierced the elephants with their javelins, and forced them to turn their backs; and thoſe creatures ruſhing upon their own battalions, threw them into the greateſt confuſion and diſorder. This put the victory in the hands of the Romans, and empire together with the victory. For, by the courage exerted and the great actions performed this day, they acquired a loftineſs of ſentiment, an enlargement of power, with the reputation of being invincible, which ſoon gained them all Italy, and Sicily a little after.

Thus Pyrrhus fell from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after he had waſted ſix years in theſe expeditions. It is true, he was not ſucceſsful; but amidſt all his defeats he preſerved his courage unconquerable, and was reputed to excel, in military experi-

ence and perſonal proweſs, all the princes of his time. But what he gained by his atchievements, he loſt by vain hopes; his deſire of ſomething abſent, never ſuffered him effectually to perſevere in a preſent purſuit. Hence it was that Antigonus compared him to a gameſter, who makes many good throws at dice, but knows not how to make the beſt of his game.

He returned to Epirus with eight thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; but not having funds to maintain them, he ſought for a war which might anſwer that end. And being joined by a body of Gauls, he threw himſelf into Macedonia, where Antigonus the ſon of Demetrius reigned at that time. His deſign was only to pillage and carry off booty; but having taken many cities, and drawn over two thouſand of Antigonus's men, he enlarged his views, and marched againſt the king. Coming up with him in a narrow paſs, he put his whole army in diſorder. The Gauls, however, who compoſed Antigonus's rear, being a numerous body, made a gallant reſiſtance. The diſpute was ſharp, but at laſt moſt of them were cut in pieces; and they who had the charge of the elephants, being ſurrounded, delivered up both themſelves and the beaſts. After ſo great an advantage, Pyrrhus following his fortune rather than any rational plan, puſhed againſt the Macedonian phalanx, now ſtruck with terror and confuſion at their loſs. And perceiving that they refuſed to engage with him, he ſtretched out his hand to their commanders and other officers, at the ſame time calling them all by their names; by which means he drew over the enemy's infantry. Antigonus, therefore, was forced to fly: he perſuaded, however, ſome of the maritime towns to remain under his government.

Amidſt ſo many inſtances of ſucceſs, Pyrrhus, concluding that his exploit againſt the Gauls was far the moſt glorious, conſecrated the moſt ſplendid and valuable

valuable of the ſpoils in the temple of Minerva Itonis, with this inſcription,

Theſe ſpoils that Pyrrhus on the martial plain
Snatch'd from the vanquiſh'd Gaul, Itonian Pallas,
He conſecrates to thee---If from his throne
Antigonus deſerted fled, and ruin
Purſued the ſword of Pyrrhus---'tis no wonder---
From Æacus he ſprung.

After the battle he ſoon recovered the cities. When he had made himſelf maſter of Ægae, among other hardſhips put upon the inhabitants, he left among them a garriſon draughted from thoſe Gauls who ſerved under him. The Gauls of all men are the moſt covetous of money; and they were no ſooner put in poſſeſſion of the town, than they broke open the tombs of the kings who were buried there, plundered the treaſures, and inſolently ſcattered their bones. Pyrrhus paſſed the matter very ſlightly over; whether it was that the affairs he had upon his hands, obliged him to put off the enquiry, or whether he was afraid of the Gauls and did not dare to puniſh them. The connivance, however, was much cenſured by the Macedonians.

His intereſt was not well eſtabliſhed among them, nor had he any good proſpect of it's ſecurity, when he began to entertain new viſionary hopes: and in ridicule of Antigonus, he ſaid, "He wondered at "his impudence, in not laying aſide the purple, and "taking the habit of a private perſon."

About this time, Cleonymus the Spartan came to intreat him that he would march to Lacedaemon, and he lent a willing ear to his requeſt. Cleonymus was of the blood royal; but as he ſeemed to be of a violent temper and inclined to arbitrary power, he was neither loved nor truſted by the Spartans, and Areus was appointed to the throne This was an old complaint which he had againſt the citizens in

general. But to this we muſt add, that when advanced in years, he had married a young woman of great beauty, named Chelidonis, who was of the royal family, and daughter to Leotychides. Chelidonis entertaining a violent paſſion for Acrotatus the ſon of Areus, who was both young and handſome, rendered the match not only uneaſy but diſgraceful to Cleonymus who was miſerably in love: for there was not a man in Sparta who did not know how much he was deſpiſed by his wife. Theſe domeſtic misfortunes, added to his public ones, provoked him to apply to Pyrrhus, who marched to Sparta with twenty-five thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty four elephants. Theſe great preparations made it evident at one view, that Pyrrhus did not come to gain Sparta for Cleonymus, but Peloponneſus for himſelf. He made, indeed, very different profeſſions to the Lacedaemonians, who ſent an embaſſy to him at Megalopolis: for he told them that he was only come to ſet free the cities which were in ſubjection to Antigonus; and, what is more extraordinary, that he fully intended, if nothing happened to hinder it, to ſend his younger ſons to Sparta, for a Lacedaemonian education, that they might in this reſpect have the advantage of all other kings and princes.

With theſe pretences he amuſed thoſe that came to meet him on his march; but as ſoon as he ſet foot in Laconia, he began to plunder and ravage it. And upon the embaſſadors repreſenting that he commenced hoſtilities without a previous declaration of war, he ſaid, "And do we not know that you Spartans never "declare beforehand what meaſures you are going to "take?" to which a Spartan, named Mandricidas, who was in company, made anſwer in his Laconic dialect, "If thou art a god, thou wilt do us no "harm, becauſe we have done thee none; if thou "art a man, perhaps we may find a better man than "thee."

In

In the mean time he moved towards Lacedaemon, and was adviſed by Cleonymus to give the aſſault immediately upon his arrival. But Pyrrhus, as we are told, fearing that his ſoldiers would plunder the city if they took it by night, put him off, and ſaid, they would proceed to the aſſault the next day. For he knew there were but few men within the city, and thoſe unprepared, by reaſon of his ſudden approach; and that Areus the king was abſent, being gone to Crete to ſuccour the Gortynians. The contemptible idea which Pyrrhus conceived of it's weakneſs and want of men, was the principal thing that ſaved the city. For ſuppoſing that he ſhould not find the leaſt reſiſtance, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and ſate quietly down; while the Helots and friends of Cleonymus buſied themſelves in adorning and preparing his houſe, in expectation that Pyrrhus would ſup with him there that evening.

Night being come, the Lacedaemonians reſolved in the firſt place, to ſend off their women to Crete, but they ſtrongly oppoſed it: and Archidamia entering the ſenate with a ſword in her hand, complained of the mean opinion they entertained of the women, if they imagined they would ſurvive the deſtruction of Sparta. In the next place, they determined to draw a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, and at each end of it to ſink waggons into the ground as deep as the naves of the wheels, that ſo being firmly fixed, they might ſtop the courſe of the elephants. As ſoon as the work was begun, both matrons and maids came and joined them; the former with their robes tucked up, and the latter in their under-garments only, to aſſiſt the older ſort of men. They adviſed thoſe that were intended for the fight, to repoſe themſelves, and in the mean time they undertook to finiſh a third part of the trench, which they effected before morning. This trench was in breadth ſix cubits, in depth four, and eight hundred feet long, according to Phylarchus. Hieronymus makes it leſs.

At day-break the enemy was in motion, whereupon the women armed the youth with their own hands, and gave them the trench in charge, exhorting them to guard it well, and repreſenting, "how delightful "it would be to conquer in the view of their coun- "try, or how glorious to expire in the arms of "their mothers and their wives, when they had met "their deaths as became Spartans." As for Chelidonis, ſhe retired into her own apartment with a rope about her neck, determined to end her days by it, rather than fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if the city were taken.

Pyrrhus, now, preſſed forward with his infantry againſt the Spartans, who waited for him under a rampart of ſhields. But, beſide that the ditch was ſcarce paſſable, he found that there was no firm footing on the ſides of it for his ſoldiers, becauſe of the looſeneſs of the freſh earth. His ſon Ptolemy ſeeing this, fetched a compaſs about the trench with two thouſand Gauls and a ſelect body of Chaonians, and endeavoured to open a paſſage on the quarter of the waggons. But theſe were ſo deep fixed and cloſe locked, that they not only obſtructed their paſſage, but made it difficult for the Spartans to come up and make a cloſe defence. The Gauls were now beginning to drag out the wheels and draw the waggons into the river, when young Acrotatus perceiving the danger, traverſed the city with three hundred men, and by the advantage of ſome hollow ways ſurrounded Ptolemy, not being ſeen till he began the attack upon his rear. Ptolemy was now forced to face about, and ſtand upon the defenſive. In the confuſion many of his ſoldiers running foul upon each other, either tumbled into the ditch, or fell under the waggons. At laſt, after a long diſpute and great effuſion of blood, they were entirely routed. The old men and the women ſaw this exploit of Acrotatus: and as he returned through the city to his poſt, covered with blood, bold, and elated with

with his victory, he appeared to the Spartan women taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not help envying Chelidonis ſuch a lover. Nay, ſome of the old men followed and cried out, "Go, Acro-"tatus, and enjoy Chelidonis: and may your off-"ſpring be worthy of Sparta!"

The diſpute was more obſtinate where Pyrrhus fought in perſon. Many of the Spartans diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action, and, among the reſt, Phyllius made a glorious ſtand. He ſlew numbers that endeavouved to force a paſſage, and when he found himſelf ready to faint with the many wounds he had received, he gave up his poſt to one of the officers that was near him, and retired to die in the midſt of his own party, that the enemy might not get his body in their power.

Night parted the combatants; and Pyrrhus, as he lay in his tent, had this dream: he thought * he darted lightning upon Lacedaemon, which ſet all the city on fire, and that the ſight filled him with joy. The tranſport awaking him, he ordered his officers to put their men under arms; and to ſome of his friends he related his viſion, from which he aſſured himſelf that he ſhould take the city by ſtorm. The thing was received with admiration and a general aſſent; but it did not pleaſe Lyſimachus. He ſaid, that, as no foot is to tread on places that are ſtruck by lightning, ſo the deity by this might preſignify to Pyrrhus, that the city ſhould remain inacceſſible to him. Pyrrhus anſwered, "Theſe viſions may ſerve "as amuſements for the vulgar, but there is not any "thing in the world more uncertain and obſcure.

"While,

* Some, inſtead of αυτος read αετος; and then the Engliſh will run thus, *He thought that an* eagle *darted lightning*, &c. But if that reading be preferred, becauſe the eagle bore Jupiter's thunder, and Pyrrhus had the name of *Eagle*, it ought to take place in the laſt member of the ſentence too, and that ſhould be rendered, *the eagle rejoiced at the fight*.

" While, then, you have your weapons in your " hands, remember, my friends,

* *The beſt of omens is the cauſe of Pyrrhus.*

So ſaying, he aroſe, and, as ſoon as it was light, renewed the attack. The Lacedaemonians ſtood upon their defence with an alacrity and ſpirit above their ſtrength: and the women attended, ſupplying them with arms, giving bread and drink to ſuch as wanted it, and taking care of the wounded. The Macedonians then attempted to fill up the ditch, bringing great quantities of materials, and throwing them upon the arms and bodies of the dead. The Lacedaemonians, on their part, redoubled their efforts againſt them. But all on a ſudden Pyrrhus appeared on their ſide of the trench, where the waggons had been planted to ſtop the paſſage, advancing at full ſpeed towards the city. The ſoldiers who had the charge of that poſt cried out, and the women fled with loud ſhrieks and wailings. In the mean time Pyrrhus was puſhing on, and overthrowing all that oppoſed him. But his horſe receiving a wound in the belly from a Cretan arrow, ran away, and, plunging in the pains of death, threw him upon ſteep and ſlippery ground. As his friends preſſed towards him in great confuſion, the Spartans came boldly up, and, making good uſe of their arrows, drove them all back. Hereupon Pyrrhus put an entire ſtop to the action, thinking the Spartans would abate of their vigour, now they were almoſt all wounded, and ſuch great numbers killed. But the fortune of Sparta, whether ſhe was ſatisfied with the trial ſhe had of the unaſſiſted valour of her ſons, or whether ſhe was willing to ſhew her power to retrieve the moſt deſperate circumſtances, juſt as the hopes of the Spartans were beginning to expire, brought to their relief from Corinth Aminius the Phocean, one of Antigonus's officers, with an army of ſtrangers; and they had

* Parody of a line in Hector's ſpeech, Il. xii.

had no ſooner entered the town, but Areus their king arrived from Crete with two thouſand men more. The women now retired immediately to their houſes, thinking it needleſs to concern themſelves any farther in the war: the old men too, who notwithſtanding their age, had been forced to bear arms, were diſmiſſed, and the new ſupplies put in their place.

Theſe two reinforcements to Sparta ſerved only to animate the courage of Pyrrhus, and make him more ambitious to take the town. Finding, however, that he could effect nothing, after a ſeries of loſſes and ill ſucceſs he quitted the ſiege, and began to collect booty from the country, intending to paſs the winter there. But fate is unavoidable. There happened at that time a ſtrong contention at Argos, between the parties of Ariſteas and Ariſtippus; and as Ariſtippus appeared to have a connection with Antigonus, Ariſteas, to prevent him, called in Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus whoſe hopes grew as faſt as they were cut off, who, if he met with ſucceſs, only conſidered it as a ſtep to greater things, and if with diſappointment, endeavoured to compenſate it, by ſome new advantage, would neither let his victories nor loſſes put a period to his diſturbing both the world and himſelf. He began his march, therefore, immediately for Argos. Areus, by frequent ambuſhes, and by poſſeſſing himſelf of the difficult paſſes, cut off many of the Gauls and Moloſſians who brought up his rear. In the ſacrifice which Pyrrhus had offered the liver was found without a head, and the diviner had thence forwarned him, that he was in danger of loſing ſome perſon that was dear to him. But in the hurry and diſorder of this unexpected attack, he forgot the menace from the victim, and ordered his ſon Ptolemy with ſome of his guards to the aſſiſtance of the rear, whilſt he himſelf puſhed on, and diſengaged his main body from thoſe dangerous paſſages. In the mean time Ptolemy met with a very warm

warm reception; for he was engaged by a ſelect party of Lacedaemonians, under the command of Evalcus. In the heat of action, a Cretan of Aptera, named Oroeſus, a man of remarkable ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, came up with the young prince, as he was fighting with great gallantry, and with a blow on the ſide laid him dead upon the ſpot. As ſoon as he fell, his party turned their backs and fled. The Lacedaemonians purſued them, and in the ardour of victory, inſenſibly advancing into the open plain, got at a great diſtance from their infantry. Pyrrhus, who by this time had heard of the death of his ſon, and was greatly afflicted at it, drew out his Moloſſian horſe, and charging at the head of them, ſatiated himſelf with the blood of the Lacedaemonians. He always indeed appeared great and invincible in arms, but now, in point of courage and force, he outdid all his former exploits. Having found out Evalcus, he ſpurred his horſe againſt him; but Evalcus inclining a little on one ſide, aimed a ſtroke at him which had like to have cut off his bridle hand. It happened, however, only to cut the reins, and Pyrrhus ſeizing the favourable moment, ran him through with his ſpear. Then ſpringing from his horſe, he fought on foot, and made a terrible havock of thoſe brave Lacedaemonians who endeavoured to protect the body of Evalcus. The great loſs which Sparta ſuffered was now owing purely to the ill-timed ambition of her leaders; for the war was at an end before the engagement.

Pyrrhus having thus ſacrificed to the manes of his ſon, and celebrated a kind of funeral games for him, found that he had vented much of his grief in the fury of the combat, and marched more compoſed to Argos. Finding that Antigonus kept the high grounds adjoining to the plain, he encamped near the town of Nauplia. Next day he ſent a herald to Antigonus, with a challenge in abuſive terms to come down into the field, and fight with him for the kingdom.

kingdom. Antigonus anſwered, "Time is the "weapon that I uſe, as much as the ſword; and "if Pyrrhus is weary of his life, there are many "ways to end it." To both the kings there came ambaſſadors from Argos, intreating them to retire, and ſo prevent that city from being ſubjected to either, which had a friendſhip for them both. Antigonus agreed to the overture, and ſent his ſon to the Argives as an hoſtage. Pyrrhus at the ſame time promiſed to retire, but ſending no hoſtage, he was much ſuſpected.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, Pyrrhus was alarmed with a great and tremendous prodigy. For the heads of the ſacrifice-oxen, when ſevered from the bodies, were ſeen to thruſt out their tongues, and lick up their own gore. And in Argos the prieſteſs of Apollo Lycéus ran about the ſtreets, crying out that ſhe ſaw the city full of dead carcaſes and blood, and an eagle joining in the fight, and then immediately vaniſhing.

In the dead of night Pyrrhus approached the walls, and finding the gate called Diamperes opened to him by Ariſteas, he was not diſcovered 'till his Gauls had entered and ſeized the market-place. But the gate not being high enough to receive the elephants, they were forced to take off their towers; and having afterwards to put them on again in the dark, it could not be done without noiſe and loſs of time, by which means they were diſcovered. The Argives ran into the citadel called * Aſpis, and other places of defence, and

* There was an annual feaſt at Argos, in honour of Juno, called Ἡραια, *Junonia*, and alſo *Hecatombaia*, from the hecatomb of oxen then offered. Among other games, this prize was propoſed for the youth. In a place of conſiderable ſtrength above the theatre, a brazen buckler was nailed to the wall, and they were to try their ſtrength in plucking it off. The victor was crown'd with a myrtle garland, and had the buckler [in Greek *Aſpis*] for his pains. Hence the name of the fort. Not only the youth of Argos, but ſtrangers were admitted to the conteſt; as appears from Pindar. For,

and ſent to call in Antigonus. But he only advanced towards the walls, to watch his opportunity for action, and contented himſelf with ſending in ſome of his principal officers and his ſon with conſiderable ſuccours.

At the ſame time Areus arrived in the town with a thouſand Cretans and the moſt active of his Spartans. All theſe troops being joined, fell at once upon the Gauls, and put them in great diſorder. Pyrrhus entered at a place called Cylarabis * with great noiſe and loud ſhouts, which were echoed by the Gauls; but he thought their ſhouts were neither full nor bold, but rather expreſſive of terror and diſtreſs. He therefore advanced in great haſte, puſhing forward his cavalry, though they marched in danger by reaſon of the drains and ſewers of which the city was full. Beſides, in this nocturnal war, it was impoſſible either to ſee what was done, or to hear the orders that were given. The ſoldiers were ſcattered about, and loſt their way among the narrow ſtreets; nor could the officers rally them in that darkneſs, amidſt ſuch a variety of noiſes, and in ſuch ſtrait paſſages; ſo that both ſides continued without doing any thing, and waited for day-light.

At the firſt dawn Pyrrhus was concerned to ſee the Aſpis full of armed men; but his concern was changed into conſternation, when among the many figures in the market-place he beheld a wolf and a bull in braſs repreſented in act to fight. For he recollected an old oracle which had foretold, "That "it was his deſtiny to die when he ſhould ſee a wolf "encountering a bull." The Argives ſay, theſe figures were erected in memory of an accident which happened among them long before. They tell us, that when Danaus firſt entered their country, as he paſſed

For, ſpeaking of Diagoras of Rhodes, he ſays,
The Argive Buckler knew him. OLYMP. ode 7.

* Cylarabis was a place of exerciſe near one of the gates of Argos. PAUSAN.

paſſed through the diſtrict of Thyreatis, by the way of Pyramia which leads to Argos, he ſaw a wolf fighting with a bull. Danaus imagined that the wolf repreſented him, for being a ſtranger he came to attack the natives, as the wolf did the bull. He therefore ſtayed to ſee the iſſue of the fight, and the wolf proving victorious, he offered his devotions to Apollo Lyceus, and then aſſaulted and took the town; Gelanor, who was then king, being depoſed by a faction. Such is the hiſtory of thoſe figures.

Pyrrhus quite diſpirited at the ſight, and perceiving at the ſame time that nothing ſucceeded according to his hopes, thought it beſt to retreat. Fearing that the gates were too narrow, he ſent orders to his ſon Helenus, who was left with the main body without the town, to demoliſh part of the wall, and aſſiſt the retreat, if the enemy tried to obſtruct it. But the perſon whom he ſent, miſtaking the order in the hurry and tumult, and delivering it quite in a contrary ſenſe, the young prince entered the gates with the reſt of the elephants and the beſt of his troops, and marched to aſſiſt his father. Pyrrhus was now retiring; and while the market-place afforded room both to retreat and fight, he often faced about and repulſed the aſſailants. But when from that broad place he came to crowd into the narrow ſtreet leading to the gate, he fell in with thoſe who were advancing to his aſſiſtance. It was in vain to call out to them to fall back: there were but few that could hear him; and ſuch as did hear, and were moſt diſpoſed to obey his orders, were puſhed back by thoſe who came pouring in behind. Beſides, the largeſt of the elephants was fallen in the gate-way on his ſide, and lying there and braying in a horrible manner, he ſtopped thoſe who would have got out. And among the elephants already in the town, one named Nicon, ſtriving to take up his maſter who was fallen off wounded, ruſhed againſt the party that was retreating; and overturned both friends and enemies promiſcuouſly,

promiſcuouſly, 'till he found the body. Then he took it up with his trunk, and carrying it on his two teeth, returned in great fury, and trod down all before him. When they were thus preſſed and crowded together, not a man could do any thing ſingly, but the whole multitude, like one cloſe compacted body, rolled this way and that all together. They exchanged but few blows with the enemy either in front or rear, and the greateſt harm they did was to themſelves. For if any man drew his ſword or levelled his pike, he could not recover the one or put up the other; the next perſon, therefore, whoever he happened to be, was neceſſarily wounded, and thus many of them fell by the hands of each other.

Pyrrhus ſeeing the tempeſt rolling about him, took off the plume with which his helmet was diſtinguiſhed, and gave it to one of his friends. Then truſting to the goodneſs of his horſe, he rode in amongſt the enemy who were haraſſing his rear; and it happened that he was wounded through the breaſt-plate with a javelin. The wound was rather ſlight than dangerous, but he turned againſt the man that gave it, who was an Argive of no note, the ſon of a poor old woman. This woman, among others, looking upon the fight from the roof of a houſe, beheld her ſon thus engaged. Seized with terror at the ſight, ſhe took up a large tile with both hands, and threw it at Pyrrhus. The tile fell upon his head, and, notwithſtanding his helmet, cruſhed the lower *vertebrae* of his neck. Darkneſs in a moment covered his eyes, his hands let go the reins, and he fell from his horſe, by the tomb of Licymnius *. The crowd that was about

* There is ſomething ſtrikingly contemptible in the fate of this ferocious warrior.—What reflections may it not afford to thoſe ſcourges of mankind, who to extend their power and gratify their pride, tear out the vitals of human ſociety!—How unfortunate that they do not recollect their own perſonal inſignificance, and conſider, while they are diſturbing the peace of the earth, that they are beings whom an old woman may kill with a ſtone!—It is impoſſible

about him, did not know him, but one Zopyrus who ſerved under Antigonus, and two or three others coming up, knew him, and dragged him into a porch that was at hand, juſt as he was beginning to recover from the blow. Zopyrus had drawn his Illyrian blade to cut off his head, when Pyrrhus opened his eyes, and gave him ſo fierce a look, that he was ſtruck with terror. His hands trembled; and between his deſire to give the ſtroke, and the confuſion he was in, he miſſed the neck, but wounded him in the

impoſſible here to forget the obſcure fate of Charles the Twelfth, or the following verſes that deſcribe it.

On what foundation ſtands the warrior's pride,
How juſt his hopes, let Swediſh Charles decide;
A frame of adamant, a ſoul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire;
O'er love, o'er fear extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleaſure and of pain;
No joys to him pacific ſcepters yield,
War ſounds the trump, he ruſhes to the field.
Behold ſurrounding kings their power combine,
And one capitulate, and one reſign.
Peace courts his hand, but ſpreads her charms in vain:
"Think nothing gain'd he cried, 'till nought remain,
"On Moſcow's walls 'till Gothic ſtandards fly,
"And all be mine beneath the polar ſky."
The march begins in military ſtate,
And nations on his eye ſuſpended wait.
Stern famine guards the ſolitary coaſt,
And winter barricades the realm of froſt:
He comes—not want and cold his courſe delay——
Hide, bluſhing glory, hide Pultowa's day!
The vanquiſh'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And ſhews his miſeries in diſtant lands.
Condemn'd a needy ſupplicant, to wait,
While ladies interpoſe, and ſlaves debate.
But did not chance at length her error mend?
Did no ſubverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hoſtile millions preſs him to the ground?
His fall was deſtin'd to a barren ſtrand,
A petty fortreſs, and a dubious hand.
He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale!

JOHNSON.

the mouth and chin, ſo that it was a long time before he could ſeparate the head from the body.

By this time the thing was generally known, and Alcyoneus, the ſon of Antigonus, came haſtily up and aſked for the head as if he wanted only to look upon it. But as ſoon as he had got it, he rode off with it to his father, and caſt it at his feet as he was ſitting with his friends. Antigonus looking upon the head, and knowing it, thruſt his ſon from him: and ſtruck him with his ſtaff, calling him an impious and barbarous wretch. Then putting his robe before his eyes, he wept in remembrance of the fate of his grandfather * Antigonus, and that of his father Demetrius, two inſtances in his own houſe of the mutability of fortune. As for the head and body of Pyrrhus, he ordered them to be laid in magnificent attire on the funeral pile and burnt. After this, Alcyoneus having met with Helenus in great diſtreſs and a mean garb, addreſſed him in a courteous manner, and conducted him to his father, who thus expreſſed himſelf on the occaſion, "In this, my ſon, you "have acted much better than before; but ſtill you "are deficient: for you ſhould have taken off that "mean habit, which is a greater diſgrace to us who "are victorious, than it is to the vanquiſhed."

Then he paid his reſpects to Helenus in a very obliging manner, and ſent him to Epirus with a proper equipage. He gave alſo the ſame kind reception to the friends of Pyrrhus, after he had made himſelf maſter of his whole camp and army.

* Antigonus the firſt was killed at the battle of Ipſus, and Demetrius the firſt long kept a priſoner by his ſon-in-law Seleucus.

CAIUS

CAIUS MARIUS.

WE know no third name of Caius Marius, any more than we do of Quinctus Sertorius who held Spain ſo long, or of Lucius Mummius who took Corinth. For the ſurname of *Achaicus*, Mummius gained by his conqueſt, as Scipio did that of *Africanus*, and Metellus that of *Macedonicus*. Poſidonius avails himſelf chiefly of this argument to confute thoſe who hold the third to be the Roman proper name, Camillus, for inſtance, Marcellus, Cato: for in that caſe, thoſe who had only two names, would have had no proper name at all. But he did not conſider that by this reaſoning he robbed the women of their names; for no woman bears the firſt, which Poſidonius ſuppoſed the proper name among the Romans. Of the other names, one was common to the whole family, as the Pompeii, Manlii, Cornelii, in the ſame manner as with us, the Heraclidae and Pelopidae; and the other was a ſurname given them from ſomething remarkable in their diſpoſitions, their actions, or the form of their bodies, as Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla, which are like Mnemon, Grypus and Callinicus among the Greeks. But the diverſity

of cuſtoms in this reſpect, leaves much room for farther enquiry.*

As to the figure of Marius, we have ſeen at Ravenna in Gaul his ſtatue in marble, which perfectly expreſſed all that has been ſaid of his ſternneſs and auſterity of behaviour. For being naturally robuſt and warlike, and more acquainted with the diſcipline of the camp than the city, he was fierce and intractable when in authority. It is ſaid that he neither learnt to read Greek, nor would make uſe of that language on any ſerious occaſion, thinking it ridiculous to beſtow time on learning the language of a conquered people. And when, after his ſecond triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited ſhows

* The Romans had uſually three names, the *Praenomen*, the *Nomen*, and the *Cognomen*.

The *Praenomen*, as Aulus, Caius, Decimus, was the proper, or diſtinguiſhing name between brothers, during the times of the republic.

The *Nomen* was the family name, anſwering to the Grecian patronymics. For, as among the Greeks, the poſterity of Æacus were called Æacidae, ſo the Julian family had that name from Iulus or Aſcanius. But there were ſeveral other things which gave riſe to the *Nomen*, as animals, places and accidents; for inſtance, Porcius, Ovilius, &c.

The *Cognomen*, was originally intended to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral branches of a family. It was aſſumed from no certain cauſe, but generally from ſome particular occurrence. It became, however, hereditary, except it happened to be changed for a more honourable appellation, as Macedonicus, Africanus. But it ſhould be well remarked, that under the emperors the *Cognomen* was often uſed as a proper name, and brothers were diſtinguiſhed by it, as Titus Flavius Veſpaſianus, and Titus Flavius Sabinus.

As to women, they had anciently their *Praenomen* as well as the men, ſuch as Caia, Lucia, &c. But afterwards they ſeldom uſed any other beſides the family name, as Julia, Tullia, and the like. Where there were two ſiſters in a houſe, the diſtinguiſhing appellations were major and minor; if a greater number, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, &c.

With reſpect to the men who had only two names, a family might be ſo mean as not to have gained the Cognomen; or there might be ſo few of the family, that there was no occaſion for it to diſtinguiſh the branches.

ſhows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and ſate down, and then roſe up and departed immediately. Therefore, as Plato uſed to ſay to Xenocrates the philoſopher, who had a moroſe and unpoliſhed manner, "Good Xenocrates, ſacrifice to the graces," ſo if any one could have perſuaded Marius to pay his court to the Grecian muſes and Graces, he had never brought his noble atchievements both in war and peace to ſo ſhocking a concluſion; he had never been led by unſeaſonable ambition and inſatiable avarice, to ſplit upon the rocks of a ſavage and cruel old-age. But this will ſoon appear from his actions themſelves.

His parents were obſcure and indigent people, who ſupported themſelves by labour; his father's name was the ſame with his; his mother was called Fulcinia. It was late before he came to Rome, or had any taſte of the refinements of the city. In the mean time he lived at † Cirraeatum, a village in the territory of Arpinum: and his manner of living there was perfectly ruſtic, if compared with the elegance of poliſhed life; but at the ſame time it was temperate, and much reſembled that of the ancient Romans.

He made his * firſt campaign againſt the Celtiberians, when Scipio Africanus beſieged Numantia. It did not eſcape his general, how far he was above the other young ſoldiers in courage; nor how eaſily he came into the reformation in point of diet, which Scipio introduced into the army, before almoſt ruined by luxury and pleaſure. It is ſaid alſo, that he encountered

† A corruption of *Cernetum*. Pliny tells us, the inhabitants of Cernetum were called *Mariani*, undoubtedly from Marius their townſman, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner. PLIN. Lib. iii. c. 5,

* In the third year of the hundred and ſixty-firſt Olympiad, one hundred and thirty-three years before the birth of Chriſt.

countered and killed an enemy in the ſight of his general; who therefore diſtinguiſhed him with many marks of honour and reſpect, one of which was the inviting him to his table. One evening the converſation happening to turn upon the great commanders then in being, ſome perſon in the company, either out of complaiſance to Scipio, or becauſe he really wanted to be informed, aſked, "Where the Romans "ſhould find ſuch another general when he was "gone;" upon which Scipio putting his hand on the ſhoulder of Marius, who ſate next him, ſaid, "Here, perhaps." So happy was the genius of both thoſe great men, that the one, while but a youth, gave tokens of his future abilities, and the other from thoſe beginnings could diſcover the long ſeries of glory which was to follow.

This ſaying of Scipio's, we are told, raiſed the hopes of Marius, like a divine oracle, and was the chief thing that animated him to apply himſelf to affairs of ſtate. By the aſſiſtance of Caecilius Metellus, on whoſe houſe he had an hereditary dependence, he was choſen * a tribune of the people. In this office he propoſed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tended to leſſen the authority of the Patricians in matters of judicature. Cotta the conſul, therefore, perſuaded the ſenate to reject it, and to cite Marius to give account of his conduct. Such a decree being made, Marius, when he entered the ſenate, ſhewed not the embarraſſment of a young man, advanced to office without having firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf: but aſſuming beforehand the elevation which his future actions were to give him, he threatened to ſend Cotta to priſon, if he did not revoke the decree. Cotta turning to Metellus, and aſking his opinion, Metellus roſe up and voted with the

* One hundred and ſeventeen years before Chriſt.

the conſul. Hereupon Marius called in a *Lictor*, and ordered him to take Metellus into cuſtody. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes; but, as not one of them lent him any aſſiſtance, the ſenate gave way, and repealed their decree. Marius, highly diſtinguiſhed by this victory, went immediately from the ſenate to the *Forum*, and had his law confirmed by the people.

From this time he paſſed for a man of inflexible reſolution, not to be influenced by fear or reſpect of perſons, and conſequently one that would prove a bold defender of the people's privileges againſt the ſenate. But this opinion was ſoon altered by his taking quite a different part. For a law being propoſed concerning the diſtribution of corn, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Plebeians, and carried it againſt them. By which action he gained equal eſteem from both parties, as a perſon incapable of ſerving either againſt the public advantage.

When his tribuneſhip was expired, he ſtood candidate for the office of chief Ædile. For there are two offices of *Ædiles*; the one called *Curulis*, from the chair with crooked feet, in which the magiſtrate ſits while he diſpatches buſineſs; the other, of a degree much inferior, is called the *Plebeian* Ædile. The more honourable Ædiles are firſt choſen, and then the people proceed the ſame day to the election of the other. When Marius found he could not carry the firſt, he dropped his pretenſions there, and immediately applied for the ſecond. But as this proceeding of his betrayed a diſagreeable and importunate obſtinacy, he miſcarried in that alſo. Yet though he was twice baffled in his applications in one day (which never happened to any man but himſelf) he was not at all diſcouraged. For, not long after, he ſtood for the praetorſhip, and was near being rejected again. He was, indeed, returned laſt of all, and then was accuſed of bribery. What contributed moſt to the ſuſpicion, was, a ſervant of Caſſius Sabaco

being ſeen within the rails, among the electors; for Sabaco was an intimate friend of Marius. He was ſummoned, therefore, by the judges; and, being interrogated upon the point, he ſaid, That the heat having made him very thirſty, he aſked for cold water; upon which, his ſervant brought him a cup, and withdrew as ſoon as he had drank. Sabaco was *expelled the ſenate by the next cenſors, and it was thought he deſerved that mark of infamy, as having been guilty either of falſehood or intemperance. Caius Herennius was alſo cited as a witneſs againſt Marius; but he alledged, that it was not cuſtomary for patrons (ſo the Romans call protectors) to give evidence againſt their clients, and that the law excuſed them from that obligation. The judges were going to admit the plea, when Marius himſelf oppoſed it, and told Herennius, that when he was firſt created a magiſtrate, he ceaſed to be his client. But this was not altogether true. For it is not every office that frees clients and their poſterity from the ſervice due to their patrons, but only thoſe magiſtracies to which the law gives a *Curule* chair. Marius, however, during the firſt days of trial, found that matters ran againſt him, his judges being very unfavourable; yet at laſt, the votes proved equal, and he was acquitted beyond expectation.

In his praetorſhip he did nothing to raiſe him to diſtinction. But, at the expiration of this office, the farther Spain falling to his lot, he is ſaid to have cleared it of robbers. That province as yet was uncivilized and ſavage in it's manners, and the Spaniards thought there was nothing diſhonourable in robbery. At his return to Rome, he was deſirous to have his ſhare in the adminiſtration, but had neither riches nor eloquence to recommend him; though theſe were the inſtruments by which the great men of thoſe

* Probably he had one of his ſlaves in to vote among the freemen.

thoſe times governed the people. His high ſpirit, however, his indefatigable induſtry, and plain manner of living, recommended him ſo effectually to the commonalty, that he gained offices, and by offices power: ſo that he was thought worthy the alliance of the Caeſars, and married Julia of that illuſtrious family. Caeſar, who afterwards raiſed himſelf to ſuch eminence, was her nephew, and, on account of his relation to Marius, ſhewed himſelf very ſollicitous for his honour; as we have related in his life.

Marius, along with his temperance, was poſſeſſed of great fortitude in enduring pain. There was an extraordinary proof of this, in his bearing an operation in ſurgery. Having both his legs full of wens, and being troubled at the deformity, he determined to put himſelf in the hands of a ſurgeon. He would not be bound, but ſtretched out one of his legs to the knife; and without motion or groan, bore the inexpreſſible pain of the operation in ſilence and with a ſettled countenance. But when the ſurgeon was going to begin with the other leg, he would not ſuffer him, ſaying, "I ſee the the cure is not worth the pain."

About this time * Caecilius Metellus the conſul, being appointed to the chief command in the war againſt Jugurtha, took Marius with him into Africa as one of his lieutenants. Marius, now finding an opportunity for great actions and glorious toils, took no care, like his collegues, to contribute to the reputation of Metellus, or to direct his views to his ſervice: but concluding that he was called to the lieutenancy, not by Metellus, but by fortune, who had

* Q. Caecilius Metellus was conſul with M. Junius Silanus the fourth year of the one hundred and ſixty-ſeventh Olympiad, a hundred and ſeven years before the birth of Chriſt. In this expedition he acquired the ſurname of Numidicus.

had opened him an eaſy way and a noble theatre for great atchievements, exerted all his powers. That war preſenting many critical occaſions, he neither declined the moſt difficult ſervice, nor thought the moſt ſervile beneath him. Thus ſurpaſſing his equals in prudence and foreſight, and conteſting it with the common ſoldiers in abſtemiouſneſs and labour, he entirely gained their affections. For it is no ſmall conſolation to any one who is obliged to work, to ſee another voluntarily take a ſhare in his labour; ſince it ſeems to take off the conſtraint. There is not, indeed, a more agreeable ſpectacle to a Roman ſoldier, than that of his general eating the ſame * dry bread which he eats, or lying on an ordinary bed, or aſſiſting his men in drawing a trench or throwing up a bulwark. For the ſoldier does not ſo much admire thoſe officers who let him ſhare in their honours or their money, as thoſe who will partake with him in labour and danger; and he is more attached to one that will aſſiſt him in his work, than to one who will indulge him in idleneſs.

By theſe ſteps Marius gained the hearts of the ſoldiers: his glory, his influence, his reputation ſpread through Africa, and extended even to Rome: the men under his command wrote to their friends at home, that the only means of putting an end to the war in thoſe parts would be to elect Marius conſul.

* Εν οψει, which the Engliſh tranſlator renders *publickly*, and the French *à la vûe de tout le monde*, is never to be met with in any good Greek author in that ſenſe. Indeed the text plainly appears to be corrupted; for the word Θεαμα, *ſpectacle*, juſt before, entirely precludes the expreſſion εν οψει, *in ſight*. Bryan ſaw the corruption, and has propoſed to read ανευ οψου, *without meat or ſauce*; but we ſhould rather chuſe to read ανοψον, becauſe the literal alteration will be the leſs. It certainly muſt be matter of great joy to the common ſoldier to ſee his general eat the ſame dry bread with him. Dacier, too, ſaw the corruption, and propoſed to read εν οξει, *bread dipt in vinegar*. Here is, indeed, the change of one letter only; but the ſenſe does not ſeem to be ſo ſtrong The learned reader will chooſe which emendation he pleaſes.

ful. This occasioned no small anxiety to Metellus, but what distressed him most was the affair of Turpilius. This man and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in that war in the character of * master of the artificers, but being, through his interest, appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his humanity to the inhabitants and the unsuspecting openness of his conduct, gave them an opportunity of † delivering up the place to Jugurtha. Turpilius, however, suffered no injury in his person; for the inhabitants, having prevailed upon Jugurtha to spare him, dismissed him in safety. On this account he was accused of betraying the place. Marius, who was one of the council of war, was not only severe upon him himself, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against the opinion of Metellus, and much against his will he passed sentence of death upon him. A little after, the accusation appeared a false one; and all the other officers sympathized with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow; while Marius, far from dissembling his joy, declared the thing was his doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge in all companies, "That he had lodged "an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, who "would not fail to punish him for having put to "death the hereditary friend of his family."

They now became open enemies; and one day when Marius was by, we are told that Metellus said by way of insult, "You think then, my good friend, "to leave us, and go home, to solicit the consul-"ship: would you not be contented to stay, and be "consul

* The common reading is την επι των Τευτονων εχων αρχην— It is obvious that Τευτονων is a corruption of τεκτονων. An officer is meant like our comptroller of the board of works. Among Gruter's inscriptions several persons have the title of *Praefectus Fabrorum*.

† They put the Roman garrison to the sword, sparing none but Turpilius.

" conſul with this ſon of mine?" The ſon of Metellus was then very young. Notwithſtanding this, Marius ſtill kept applying for leave to be gone, and Metellus found out new pretences for delay. At laſt when there wanted only twelve days to the election, he diſmiſſed him. Marius had a long journey from the camp to Utica, but he diſpatched it in two days and a night. At his arrival on the coaſt, he offered ſacrifice before he embarked: and the diviner is ſaid to have told him, " That heaven an-
" nounced ſucceſs ſuperior to all his hopes." Elevated with this promiſe, he ſet ſail, and having a fair wind, croſſed the ſea in four days. The people immediately expreſſed their inclination for him; and being introduced by one of their tribunes, he brought many falſe charges againſt Metellus, in order to ſecure the conſulſhip for himſelf; promiſing at the ſame time either to kill Jugurtha, or to take him alive.

He was elected with great applauſe, and immediately began his levies; in which he obſerved neither law nor cuſtom; for he enliſted many needy perſons, and even * ſlaves. The generals that were before him, had not admitted ſuch as theſe, but entruſted only perſons of property with arms as with other honours, conſidering that property as a pledge to the public for their behaviour. Nor was this the only obnoxious thing in Marius. His bold ſpeeches accompanied with inſolence and ill manners, gave the patricians great uneaſineſs. For he ſcrupled not to ſay, " That he had taken the conſulate as a prey
" from the effeminacy of the high-born and the rich,
" and that he boaſted to the people his own wounds,
" not the images of others or monuments of the
" dead." He took frequent occaſion too, to mention Beſtia

* Florus does not ſay, he enliſted ſlaves, but *capite cenſos*, ſuch as having no eſtates had only their names entered in the regiſters.

Beſtia and Albinus, generals who had been moſtly unfortunate in Africa, as men of illuſtrious families, but unfit for war, and conſequently unſucceſsful through want of capacity. Then he would aſk the people, "whether they did not think that the anceſtors of thoſe men would have wiſhed rather to leave a poſterity like him; ſince they themſelves did not riſe to glory by their high birth, but by their virtue and great actions." Theſe things he ſaid not out of mere vanity and arrogance, or needleſly to embroil himſelf with the nobility; but he ſaw the people took pleaſure in ſeeing the ſenate inſulted, and that they meaſured the greatneſs of a man's mind by the inſolence of his language; and therefore, to gratify them, he ſpared not the greateſt men in the ſtate.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite overcome with grief and * reſentment, to think that when he had in a manner finiſhed the war, and there remained nothing to take but the perſon of Jugurtha, Marius, who had raiſed himſelf merely by his ingratitude towards *him*, ſhould come to ſnatch away both his victory and triumph. Unable, therefore, to bear the ſight of him, he retired, and left his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up the forces to Marius. But before the end of the war the divine vengeance overtook Marius. For Sylla robbed him of the glory of his exploits, as he had done Metellus. I ſhall briefly relate here the manner of that tranſaction, having already given a more particular account of it in the life of Sylla.

Bocchus king of the † upper Numidia, was father-in-law to Jugurtha. He gave him, however, very little

* The word φθονος does not always ſignify *envy*. In Philo (*de mundo*) we find φθονος οὐδεις διδασκειν, *docere non gravabimur*. Envy ſhould not be attributed to ſuch a noble mind as that of Metellus.

† Or Mauritania. In the original it is ὁ των ανω Βαρβαρων βασιλευς, *King of the Barbarians who dwelt higher up in the country*.

little aſſiſtance in the war, pretending that he deteſted his perfidiouſneſs, while he really dreaded the increaſe of his power. But when he became a fugitive and a wanderer, and was reduced to the neceſſity of applying to Bocchus as his laſt reſource, that prince received him rather as his ſuppliant, than as his ſon-in-law. When he had him in his hands, he proceeded in publick to intercede with Marius in his behalf, alledging in his letters that he would never give him up, but defend him to the laſt. At the ſame time in private intending to betray him, he ſent for Lucius Sylla, who was quaeſtor to Marius, and had done Bocchus many ſervices during the war. When Sylla was come to him, confiding in his honour, the barbarian began to repent, and often changed his mind, deliberating for ſome days whether he ſhould deliver up Jugurtha, or retain Sylla too. At laſt adhering to the treachery he had firſt conceived, he put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sylla.

Hence the firſt ſeeds of that violent and implacable quarrel, which almoſt ruined the Roman empire. For many, out of envy to Marius, were willing to attribute this ſucceſs to Sylla only; and Sylla himſelf cauſed a ſeal to be made, which repreſented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. This ſeal he always wore, and conſtantly ſealed his letters with it; by which he highly provoked Marius, who was naturally ambitious, and could not endure a rival in glory. Sylla was inſtigated to this by the enemies of Marius, who aſcribed the beginning and the moſt conſiderable actions of the war to Metellus, and the laſt and finiſhing ſtroke to Sylla; that ſo the people might no longer admire and remain attached to Marius as the moſt accompliſhed of commanders.

The danger, however, that approached Italy from the weſt, ſoon diſperſed all the envy, the hatred and the calumnies, which had been raiſed againſt Marius. The people, now in want of an experienced commander, and ſearching for an able pilot to ſit at the helm,

helm, that the commonwealth might bear up againſt ſo dreadful a ſtorm, found that no one of an opulent or noble family would ſtand for the conſulſhip; and therefore they * elected Marius, though abſent. They had no ſooner received the news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were ſpread of an invaſion from the Teutones and the Cimbri. And though the account of the number and ſtrength of their armies ſeemed at firſt incredible, it afterwards appeared ſhort of the truth. For three hundred thouſand well-armed warriors were upon the march, and the women and children, whom they had along with them, were ſaid to be much more numerous. This vaſt multitude wanted lands on which they might ſubſiſt, and cities wherein to ſettle; as they had heard the Celtae before them, had expelled the Tuſcans, † and poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt part of Italy. As for theſe, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, it was not known ‡ who they were, or whence they came, on account of the ſmall commerce which they had with the reſt of the world, and the length of way they had marched. It was conjectured, indeed, from the largeneſs of their ſtature, and the blueneſs of their eyes, as well as becauſe the Germans call banditti *cimbri*, that they were ſome of thoſe German nations who dwell by the Northern ſea.

Some aſſert, that the country of the Celtae is of ſuch vaſt extent, that it ſtretches from the Weſtern ocean

* 102 years before Chriſt.

† In the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus.

‡ The Cimbri were deſcended from the ancient Gomerians or Celtes; Cimri or Cymbri being only a harſher pronunciation of Gomerai. They were in all probability the ancienteſt people of Germany. They gave their name to the Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, which was a kind of peninſula extending from the mouth of the river Elbe into the North ſea. They were alſo ſuppoſed the ſame with the Cimmerians that inhabited the countries about the Palus Maeotis; which is highly probable, both from the likeneſs of their names, and from the deſcendants of Gomer having ſpread themſelves over all that northern tract.

ocean and moſt northern climes, to the lake Maeotis eaſtward, and that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus: that there the two nations mingle, and thence iſſue; not all at once, nor at all ſeaſons, but in the ſpring of every year: that, by means of theſe annual ſupplies, they had gradually opened themſelves a way over the greateſt part of the European continent; and that, though they are diſtinguiſhed by different names according to their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under the general name of Celto-ſcythae.

Others ſay, they were a ſmall part of the Cimmerians, well known to the ancient Greeks; and that this ſmall part, quitting their native ſoil, or being expelled by the Scythians on account of ſome ſedition, paſſed from the Palus Maeotis into Aſia, under the conduct of Lygdamis their chief. But that the greater and more warlike part dwelt in the extremities of the earth near the Northern ſea. Theſe inhabit a country ſo dark and woody, that the ſun is ſeldom ſeen, by reaſon of the many high and ſpreading trees, which reach inward as far as the Hercynian foreſt. They are under that part of the heavens, where the elevation of the pole is ſuch, that by reaſon of the declination of the parallels, it makes almoſt a vertical point to the inhabitants; and their day and night are of ſuch a length, that they ſerve to divide the year into two equal parts; which gave occaſion to the fiction of Homer concerning the infernal regions.

Hence therefore theſe barbarians, who came into Italy, firſt iſſued; being anciently called Cimmerii, afterwards Cimbri, and the appellation was not at all from their manners. But theſe things reſt rather on conjecture, than hiſtorical certainty. Moſt hiſtorians, however, agree, that their numbers, inſtead of being leſs, were rather greater than we have related. As to their courage, their ſpirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impreſſion, we may compare them to a devouring flame. Nothing could

reſiſt

reſiſt their impetuoſity; all that came in their way, were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many * reſpectable armies and generals employed by the Romans to guard the Tranſalpine Gaul, were ſhamefully routed; and the feeble reſiſtance they made to the firſt efforts of the barbarians, was the chief thing that drew them towards Rome. For, having beaten all they met, and loaded themſelves with plunder, they determined to ſettle nowhere, 'till they had deſtroyed Rome, and laid waſte all Italy.

The Romans, alarmed from all quarters with this news, called Marius to the command, and elected him a ſecond time conſul. It was, indeed, unconſtitutional for any one to be choſen who was abſent, or who had not waited the regular time between a firſt and ſecond conſulſhip; but the people overruled all that was ſaid againſt him. They conſidered, that this was not the firſt inſtance, in which the law had given way to the public utility; nor was the preſent occaſion leſs urgent than that, when, contrary to law, † they made Scipio conſul; for then they were not anxious for the ſafety of their own city, but only deſirous of deſtroying Carthage. Theſe reaſons prevailing, Marius returned with his army from Africa, and entering upon his conſulſhip on the firſt of January, which the Romans reckon the beginning of their year, led up his triumph the ſame day. Jugurtha now a captive, was a ſpectacle as agreeable to the Romans as it was beyond their expectation; no one having ever imagined, that the war could be brought to a period while he was alive: ſo various was the character of that man, that he knew how to accommodate himſelf to all ſorts of fortune, and through all

* Caſſius Longinus, Aurelius, Scaurus, Caepio and Cn. Malleius.

† Scipio was elected conſul before he was thirty years old, though the common age required in the candidates was forty-two. Indeed, the people diſpenſed with it in other inſtances beſide this.

all his ſubtlety there ran a vein of courage and ſpirit. It is ſaid, that when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he loſt his ſenſes. After the triumph, he was thrown into priſon, where, whilſt they were in haſte to ſtrip him, ſome tore his robe off his back, and others catching eagerly at his pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. When he was thruſt down naked into the dungeon, all wild and confuſed, he ſaid with a frantic ſmile ‡, "Heavens! "how cold is this bath of yours"! There ſtruggling for ſix days with extreme hunger, and to the laſt hour labouring for the preſervation of life, he came to ſuch an end as his crimes deſerved. There were carried (we are told) in this triumph three thouſand and ſeven pounds of gold, five thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five of ſilver bullion, and of ſilver coin ſeventeen thouſand and twenty-eight drachmas.

After the ſolemnity was over, Marius aſſembled the ſenate in the capitol, where, either through inadvertency or groſs inſolence, he entered in his triumphal robe: but ſoon perceiving that the ſenate was offended, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

When he ſet out with the army, he trained his ſoldiers to labour while upon the road, accuſtoming them to long and tedious marches, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage, and provide his own victuals. So that afterwards laborious people who executed readily and without murmuring whatever they were ordered, were called *Marius's mules*. Some, indeed, give another reaſon for this proverbial ſaying. They ſay, that when Scipio beſieged Numantia, he choſe to inſpect, not only the arms and horſes, but the very mules and waggons, that all might be in readineſs and good order; on which occaſion Marius brought forth his horſe in fine condition, and his mule too in better caſe, and ſtronger and

‡ The former Engliſh tranſlation takes no notice of διασεσηρως, *ſmiling*, though an important expreſſion.

and gentler than thoſe of others. The general, much pleaſed with Marius's beaſts, often made mention of them; and hence thoſe who by way of raillery praiſed a drudging patient man, called him Marius's mule.

On this occaſion, it was a very fortunate circumſtance for Marius, that the Barbarians, turning their courſe, like a reflux of the tide, firſt invaded Spain. For this gave him time to ſtrengthen his men by exerciſe, and to raiſe and confirm their courage; and, what was ſtill of greater importance, to ſhew them what he himſelf was. His ſevere behaviour, and inflexibility in puniſhing, when it had once accuſtomed them to mind their conduct and be obedient, appeared both juſt and ſalutary. When they were a little uſed to his hot and violent ſpirit, to the harſh tone of his voice, and the fierceneſs of his countenance, they no longer conſidered them as terrible to themſelves but to the enemy. Above all, the ſoldiers were charmed with his integrity in judging; and this contributed not a little to procure Marius a third conſulate. Beſides, the Barbarians were expected in the ſpring, and the people were not willing to meet them under any other general. They did not, however, come ſo ſoon as they were looked for, and the year expired without his getting a ſight of them. The time of a new election coming on, and his colleague being dead, Marius left the command of the army to Manius Aquilius, and went himſelf to Rome. Several perſons of great merit ſtood for the conſulate; but Lucius Saturninus, a tribune who led the people, being gained by Marius, in all his ſpeeches exhorted them to chuſe him conſul. Marius, for his part, deſired to be excuſed, pretending that he did not want the office: whereupon Saturninus called him a traitor to his country, who deſerted the command in ſuch time of danger. It was not difficult to perceive that Marius diſſembled, and that the tribune acted a bungling part under him; yet the people conſidering

that the preſent juncture required both his capacity and good fortune, created him conſul a fourth time, and appointed Lutatius Catulus his collegue, a man much eſteemed by the patricians, and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius being informed of the enemy's approach, paſſed the Alps with the utmoſt expedition; and having marked out his camp by the river Rhone, fortified it, and brought into it a large ſupply of proviſions; that the want of neceſſaries might never compel him to fight at a diſadvantage. But as the carriage of proviſions by ſea was tedious and very expenſive, he found a way to make it eaſy and expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone was at that time choaked up with mud and ſand, which the beating of the ſea had lodged there; ſo that it was very dangerous, if not impracticable, for veſſels of burthen to enter it. Marius, therefore, ſet his army, now quite at leiſure, to work there; and having cauſed a cut to be made, capable of receiving large ſhips, he turned great part of the river into it; thus drawing it to a coaſt, where the opening to the ſea is eaſy and ſecure. This cut ſtill retains his name.

The Barbarians dividing themſelves into two bodies, it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to march the upper way through Noricum againſt Catulus, and to force that paſs; while the Teutones and Ambrones took the road through Liguria along the ſea-coaſt in order to reach Marius. The Cimbri ſpent ſome time in preparing for their march: but the Teutones and Ambrones ſet out immediately, and puſhed forward with great expedition; ſo that they ſoon traverſed the intermediate country, and preſented to the view of the Romans an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aſpect, and in their voice and ſhouts of war different from all other men. They ſpread themſelves over a vaſt extent of ground near Marius, and when they had encamped, they challenged him to battle.

The

The conſul, for his part, regarded them not, but kept his ſoldiers within the trenches, rebuking the vanity and raſhneſs of thoſe who wanted to be in action, and calling them traitors to their country. He told them, "Their ambition ſhould not now be for "triumphs and trophies, but to diſpel the dreadful "ſtorm that hung over them, and to ſave Italy from "deſtruction." Theſe things he ſaid privately to his chief officers and men of the firſt rank. As for the common ſoldiers, he made them mount guard by turns upon the ramparts, to accuſtom them to bear the dreadful looks of the enemy, and to hear their ſavage voices, without fear, as well as to make them acquainted with their arms, and their way of uſing them. By theſe means what at firſt was terrible, by being often looked upon, would in time become unaffecting. For he concluded that with regard to objects of terror, novelty adds many unreal circumſtances, and that things really dreadful loſe their effect by familiarity. Indeed, the daily ſight of the Barbarians not only leſſened the fears of the ſoldiers, but the menacing Behaviour and intolerable vanity of the enemy, provoked their reſentment, and inflamed their courage. For they not only plundered and ruined the adjacent country, but advanced to the very trenches with the greateſt inſolence and contempt.

Marius at laſt was told, that the ſoldiers vented their grief in ſuch complaints as theſe: "What ef-"feminacy has Marius diſcovered in us, that he "thus keeps us locked up, like ſo many women, "and reſtrains us from fighting? come on; let us "with the ſpirit of freemen, aſk him if he waits for "others to fight for the liberties of Rome, and in-"tends to make uſe of us only as the vileſt labour-"ers, in digging trenches, in carrying out loads of "dirt, and turning the courſe of rivers? It is for "ſuch noble works as theſe, no doubt, that he ex-"erciſes us in ſuch painful labours; and, when they

" are done, he will return and ſhew his fellow-citizens " the glorious fruits of the continuation of his " power. It is true, Carbo and Caepio were beaten " by the enemy: but does their ill ſucceſs terrify him? " ſurely Carbo and Caepio were generals as much in- " ferior to Marius in valour and renown, as we are " ſuperior to the army they led. Better it were to " be in action, though we ſuffered from it like them, " than to ſit ſtill and ſee the deſtruction of our " allies."

Marius, delighted with theſe ſpeeches, talked to them in a ſoothing way. He told them, " It was " not from any diſtruſt of them, that he ſate ſtill, " but that, by order of certain oracles, he waited " both for the time and place which were to enſure " him the victory." For he had with him a Syrian woman, named Martha, who was ſaid to have the gift of prophecy. She was carried about in a litter with great reſpect and ſolemnity, and the ſacrifices he offered, were all by her direction. She had formerly applied to the ſenate in this character, and made an offer of predicting for them future events, but they refuſed to hear her. Then ſhe betook herſelf to the women, and gave them a ſpecimen of her art. She addreſſed herſelf particularly to the wife of Marius, at whoſe feet ſhe happened to ſit, when there was a combat of gladiators, and fortunately enough, told her, which of them would prove victorious. Marius's wife ſent her to her huſband, who received her with the utmoſt veneration, and provided for her the litter in which ſhe was generally carried. When ſhe went to ſacrifice, ſhe wore a purple robe, lined with the ſame, and buttoned up, and held in her hand a ſpear adorned with ribbands and garlands. When they ſaw this pompous ſcene, many doubted whether Marius was really perſuaded of her prophetic abilities, or only pretended to be ſo, and acted a part, while he ſhewed the woman in this form.

But

But what Alexander of Myndos relates concerning the vulturs, really deſerves admiration. Two of them, it ſeems always appeared, and followed the army, before any great ſucceſs, being well known by their brazen collars. The ſoldiers, when they took them, had put theſe collars upon them, and then let them go. From this time they knew, and in a manner ſaluted the ſoldiers; and the ſoldiers, whenever theſe appeared upon their march, rejoiced in the aſſurance of performing ſomething extraordinary.

About this time, there happened many prodigies, moſt of them of the uſual kind. But news was brought from Ameria and Tudertum, cities in Italy, that one night there were ſeen in the ſky ſpears and ſhields of fire, now waving about, and then claſhing againſt each other, in imitation of the poſtures and motions of men fighting; and that, one party giving way, and the other advancing, at laſt they all diſappeared in the weſt. Much about this time too, there arrived from Peſſinus, Batabaces, prieſt of the mother of the gods, with an account that the goddeſs had declared from her ſanctuary, "That the Romans "would ſoon obtain a great and glorious victory." The ſenate had given credit to his report, and decreed the goddeſs a temple on account of the victory. But when Batabaces went out, to make the ſame declaration to the people, Aulus Pompeius, one of the tribunes, prevented him, calling him an impoſtor, and driving him in an ignominious manner from the *Roſtrum*. What followed, indeed, was the thing which contributed moſt to the credit of the prediction: For Aulus had ſcarce diſſolved the aſſembly, and reached his own houſe, when he was ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died within a week. This was a fact univerſally known.

Marius ſtill keeping cloſe, the Teutones attempted to force his entrenchments; but being received with a ſhower of darts from the camp, by which they loſt a number of men, they reſolved to march forward,

concluding that they might paſs the Alps in full ſecurity. They packed up their baggage, therefore, and marched by the Roman camp. Then it was that the immenſity of their numbers appeared in the cleareſt light, from the length of their train, and the time they took up in paſſing: for it is ſaid, that though they moved on without intermiſſion, they were ſix days in going by Marius's camp. Indeed, they went very near it, and aſked the Romans by way of inſult, "whether "they had any commands to their wives, for they "ſhould be ſhortly with them?" As ſoon as the Barbarians had all paſſed by, and were in full march, Marius likewiſe decamped, and followed; always taking care to keep near them, and chuſing ſtrong places at ſome ſmall diſtance for his camp, which he alſo fortified, in order that he might paſs the nights in ſafety. Thus they moved on 'till they came to Aquae Sextiae, from whence there is but a ſhort march to the Alps.

There Marius prepared for battle; having pitched upon a place for his camp, which was unexceptionable in point of ſtrength, but afforded little water. By this circumſtance, they tell us, he wanted to excite the ſoldiers to action; and when many of them complained of thirſt, he pointed to a river which ran cloſe by the enemy's camp, and told them, "that "thence they muſt purchaſe water with their blood." "Why then," ſaid they, "do you not lead us "thither immediately, before our blood is quite "parched up?" to which he anſwered in a ſofter tone, "I will lead you thither, but firſt let us fortify "our camp."

The ſoldiers obeyed, though with ſome reluctance. But the ſervants of the army, being in great want of water, both for themſelves and their cattle, ran in crowds to the ſtream, ſome with pick-axes, ſome with hatchets, and others with ſwords and javelins, along with their pitchers; for they were reſolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. Theſe

Theſe at firſt were encountered by a ſmall party of the enemy, when ſome having bathed, were engaged at dinner, and others were ſtill bathing. For there the country abounds in hot wells. This gave the Romans an opportunity of cutting off a number of them, while they were indulging themſelves in thoſe delicious baths, and charmed with the ſweetneſs of the place. The cry of theſe brought others to their aſſiſtance, ſo that it was now difficult for Marius to reſtrain the impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, who were in pain for their ſervants. Beſides, the Ambrones, to the number of thirty thouſand, who were the beſt troops the enemy had, and who had already defeated Manlius and Caepio, were drawn out, and ſtood to their arms. Though they had overcharged themſelves with eating, yet the wine they had drank, had given them freſh ſpirits; and they advanced, not in a wild and diſorderly manner, or with a confuſed and inarticulate noiſe: but beating their arms at regular intervals, and all keeping time with the tune, they came on, crying out, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* This they did, either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their name. The Ligurians were the firſt of the Italians that moved againſt them; and when they heard the enemy cry Ambrones, they echoed back the word, which was indeed their own ancient name. Thus the ſhout was often returned from one army to the other before they charged, and the officers on both ſides joining in it, and ſtriving which ſhould pronounce the word loudeſt, added by this means to the courage and impetuoſity of their troops.

The Ambrones were obliged to paſs the river, and this broke their order; ſo that, before they could form again, the Ligurians charged the foremoſt of them, and thus began the battle. The Romans came to ſupport the Ligurians, and pouring down from the higher ground, preſt the enemy ſo hard, that they ſoon put them in diſorder. Many of them

juſtling each other on the banks of the river, were ſlain there, and the river itſelf was filled with dead bodies. Thoſe who were got ſafe over not daring to make head, were cut off by the Romans, as they fled to their camp and carriages. There the women meeting them with ſwords and axes, and ſetting up a horrid and hideous cry, fell upon the fugitives, as well as the purſuers, the former as traitors, and the latter as enemies. Mingling with the combatants, they laid hold on the Roman ſhields, catched at their ſwords, with their naked hands, and, obſtinately ſuffered themſelves to be hacked to pieces. Thus the battle is ſaid to have been fought on the banks of the river, rather by accident, than any deſign of the general.

The Romans, after having deſtroyed ſo many of the Ambrones, retired as it grew dark; but the camp did not reſound with ſongs of victory, as might have been expected upon ſuch ſucceſs. There were no entertainments, no mirth in the tents, nor, what is the moſt agreeable circumſtance to the ſoldier after victory, any ſound and refreſhing ſleep. The night was paſſed in the greateſt dread and perplexity. The camp was without trench or rampart. There remained yet many myriads of the Barbarians unconquered; and ſuch of the Ambrones as eſcaped, mixing with them, a cry was heard all night, not like the ſighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beaſts. As this proceeded from ſuch an innumerable hoſt, the neighbouring mountains and the hollow banks of the river returned the ſound, and the horrid din filled the whole plain. The Romans felt the impreſſions of terror, and Marius himſelf was filled with aſtoniſhment, at the apprehenſions of a tumultuous night-engagement. However, the Barbarians did not attack them, either that night or next day, but ſpent the time in conſulting how to diſpoſe and draw themſelves up to the beſt advantage.

In

In the mean time Marius obſerving the ſloping hills and woody hollows, that hung over the enemy's camp, diſpatched Claudius Marcellus with three thouſand men, to lie in ambuſh there 'till the fight was begun, and then to fall upon the enemy's rear. The reſt of his troops he ordered to ſup and go to reſt in good time. Next morning as ſoon as it was light, he drew up before the camp, and commanded the cavalry to march into the plain. The Teutones ſeeing this, could not contain themſelves, nor ſtay 'till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might fight them upon equal terms; but arming haſtily through thirſt of vengeance, advanced up to the hill. Marius diſpatched his officers through the whole army, with orders that they ſhould ſtand ſtill and wait for the enemy. When the Barbarians were within reach, the Romans were to throw their javelins, then come to ſword in hand, and preſſing upon them with their ſhields, puſh them with all their force. For he knew the place was ſo ſlippery, that the enemy's blows could have no great weight, nor could they preſerve any cloſe order, where the declivity of the ground continually changed their poiſe. At the ſame time that he gave theſe directions, he was the firſt that ſet the example. For he was inferior to none in perſonal agility, and in reſolution he far exceeded them all.

The Romans by their firmneſs and united charge kept the Barbarians from aſcending the hill, and by little and little forced them down into the plain. There the foremoſt battalions were beginning to form again, when the utmoſt confuſion diſcovered itſelf in the rear. For Marcellus who had watched his opportunity, as ſoon as he found, by the noiſe which reached the hills where he lay, that the battle was begun, with great impetuoſity and loud ſhouts fell upon the enemy's rear, and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of them. The hindmoſt being puſhed upon thoſe before, the whole army was ſoon put in diſorder.

der. Thus attacked both in front and rear, they could not ſtand the double ſhock, but forſook their ranks, and fled.* The Romans purſuing, either killed or took priſoners above an hundred thouſand, and having made themſelves maſters of their tents, carriages and baggage, voted as many of them as were not plundered, a preſent to Marius. This indeed was a noble recompence, yet it was thought very inadequate to the generalſhip he had ſhewn in that great and imminent danger †.

Other hiſtorians give a different account, both of the diſpoſition of the ſpoils, and the number of the ſlain. From theſe writers we learn, that the Maſſilians walled in their vineyards with the bones they found in the field; and that the rain which fell the winter following, ſoaking in the moiſture of the putrified bodies, the ground was ſo enriched by it, that it produced the next ſeaſon a prodigious crop. Thus the opinion of Archilochus is confirmed, that *fields are fattened with blood.* It is obſerved indeed, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles; whether it be, that ſome deity chuſes to waſh and purify the earth with water from above, or whether the blood and corruption, by the moiſt and heavy vapours they emit, thicken the air, which is liable to be altered by the ſmalleſt cauſe.

After the battle, Marius ſelected from among the arms and other ſpoils, ſuch as were elegant and entire, and likely to make the greateſt ſhow in his triumph. The reſt he piled together, and offered them as a ſplendid ſacrifice to the gods. The army ſtood round the pile crowned with laurel; and himſelf

* This victory was gained the ſecond year of the hundred and ſixty-ninth olympiad, before Chriſt one hundred.

† And yet there does not appear any thing very extraordinary in the generalſhip of Marius on this occaſion. The ignorance and raſhneſs of the Barbarians did every thing in his favour. The Teutones loſt the battle, as Hawley loſt it at Falkirk, by attempting the hills.

ſelf arrayed in his * purple robe, and girt after the manner of the Romans, took a lighted torch. He had juſt lifted it up with both hands towards Heaven, and was going to ſet fire to the piles, when ſome friends were ſeen galloping towards him. Great ſilence and expectation followed. When they were come near, they leaped from their horſes, and ſaluted Marius conſul the fifth time, delivering him letters to the ſame purpoſe. This added great joy to the ſolemnity, which the ſoldiers expreſſed by acclamations and by clanking their arms; and while the officers were preſenting Marius with new crowns of laurel, he ſet fire to the pile, and finiſhed the ſacrifice.

But whatever it is, that will not permit us to enjoy any great proſperity pure and unmixt, but chequers human life with a variety of good and evil; whether it be fortune, or ſome chaſtiſing deity, or neceſſity and the nature of things; a few days after this joyful ſolemnity, the ſad news was brought to Marius of what had befallen his collegue Catulus. An event, which, like a cloud in the midſt of a calm, brought freſh alarms upon Rome, and threatened her with another tempeſt. Catulus, who had the Cimbri to oppoſe, came to a reſolution to give up the defence of the heights, leſt he ſhould weaken himſelf by being obliged to divide his forces into many parts. He therefore deſcended quickly from the Alps into Italy, and poſted his army behind the river † Atheſis; where he blocked up the fords with ſtrong fortifications on both ſides, and threw a bridge over it; that ſo he might be in a condition to ſuccour the garriſons beyond it, if the Barbarians ſhould make their way through the narrow paſſes of the mountains, and attempt to ſtorm them. The Barbarians held their enemies

* Ipſe quirinali trabeâ, cinctuque Gabino inſignis.
VIRG. Æneid. 7.

† Now the Adige.

enemies in ſuch contempt, and came on with ſo much inſolence, that, rather to ſhew their ſtrength and courage, than out of any neceſſity, they expoſed themſelves naked to the ſhowers of ſnow; and, having puſhed through the ice and deep drifts of ſnow on the tops of the mountains, they put their broad ſhields under them, and ſo ſlid down, in ſpite of the broken rocks and vaſt ſlippery deſcents.

When they had encamped near the river, and taken a view of the channel, they determined to fill it up. Then they tore up the neighbouring hills, like the giants of old; they pulled up trees by the roots; they broke off maſſy rocks, and rolled in huge heaps of earth. Theſe were to dam up the current. Other bulky materials beſides theſe, were thrown in, to force away the bridge, which being carried down the ſtream with great violence, beat againſt the timber, and ſhook the foundation. At the ſight of this the Roman ſoldiers were ſtruck with terror, and great part of them quitted the camp and drew back. On this occaſion Catulus, like an able and excellent general, ſhewed that he preferred the glory of his country to his own. For when he found that he could not perſuade his men to keep their poſt, and that they were deſerting it in a very daſtardly manner, he ordered his ſtandard to be taken up, and running to the foremoſt of the fugitives, led them on himſelf; chooſing rather that the diſgrace ſhould fall upon him than upon his country, and that his ſoldiers ſhould not ſeem to fly, but to follow their general.

The Barbarians now aſſaulted and took the fortreſs on the other ſide of the Atheſis: but admiring the bravery of the garriſon, who had behaved in a manner ſuitable to the glory of Rome, they diſmiſſed them upon certain conditions, having firſt made them ſwear to them upon a brazen bull. In the battle that followed, this bull was taken among the ſpoils, and is ſaid to have been carried to Catulus's

houſe,

houſe, as the firſt-fruits of the victory. The country at preſent being without defence, the Cimbri ſpread themſelves over it, and committed great depredations.

Hereupon, Marius was called home. When he arrived, every one expected that he would triumph, and the ſenate readily paſſed a decree for that purpoſe. However, he declined it; whether it was, that he was unwilling to deprive his men, who had ſhared in the danger, of their part of the honour, or that, to encourage the people in the preſent extremity, he choſe to entruſt the glory of his former atchievements with the fortune of Rome, in order to have it reſtored to him with intereſt upon his next ſucceſs. Having made an oration ſuitable to the time, he went to join Catulus, who was much encouraged by his coming. He then ſent for his army out of Gaul; and when it was arrived, he croſſed the Po, with a deſign to keep the Barbarians from penetrating into the interior parts of Italy. But they deferred the combat, on pretence that they expected the Teutones, and that they wondered at their delay; either being really ignorant of their fate, or chooſing to ſeem ſo. For they puniſhed thoſe who brought them that account with ſtripes; and ſent to aſk Marius for lands and cities, ſufficient both for them and their brethren. When Marius enquired of the ambaſſadors who their brethren were, they told him, the Teutones. The aſſembly laughed, and Marius replied in a taunting manner, "Do not "trouble yourſelves about your brethren; for they "have land enough, which we have already given "them, and they ſhall have it for ever." The ambaſſadors perceiving the irony, anſwered in ſharp and ſcurrilous terms, aſſuring him, "That the Cim-"bri would chaſtiſe him immediately, and the Teu-"tones when they came." "And they are not far "off," ſaid Marius; "it will be very unkind, "therefore, in you to go away without ſaluting your "brethren."

" brethren." At the ſame time he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded as they were with chains: for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavouring to eſcape over the Alps.

As ſoon as the ambaſſadors had acquainted the Cimbri with what had paſſed, they marched directly againſt Marius, who, at that time lay ſtill, and kept within his trenches. It is reported that on this occaſion he contrived a new form for the javelins. 'Till then they uſed to faſten the ſhaft to the iron head with two iron pins. But Marius now letting one of them remain as it was, had the other taken out, and a weak wooden peg put in it's place. By this contrivance he intended, that when the javelin ſtuck in the enemy's ſhield, it ſhould not ſtand right out; but that, the wooden peg breaking, and the iron pin bending, the ſhaft of the weapon ſhould be dragged upon the ground, while the point ſtuck faſt in the ſhield.

Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, came now with a ſmall party of horſe to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and place where they ſhould meet and decide it by arms, to whom the country ſhould belong. Marius anſwered, " That " the Romans never conſulted their enemies when " to fight; however, he would indulge the Cimbri in " this point." Accordingly they agreed to fight the third day after, and that the plain of Vercellae ſhould be the field of battle, which was fit for the Roman cavalry to act in, and convenient for the Barbarians to diſplay their numbers.

Both parties kept their day, and drew up their forces over againſt each other. Catulus had under his command twenty thouſand and three hundred men: Marius had thirty-two thouſand. The latter were drawn up in the two wings, and Catulus was in the centre. Sylla, who was preſent in the battle, gives us this account: and it is reported, that Marius

rius made this diſpoſition, in hopes of breaking the Cimbrian battalions with the wings only, and ſecuring to himſelf and his ſoldiers the honour of the victory, before Catulus could have opportunity to come up to the charge; it being uſual in a large front, for the wings to advance before the main body. This is confirmed by the defence which Catulus made of his own behaviour, in which he inſiſted much on the malignant deſigns of Marius againſt him.

The Cimbrian infantry marched out of their trenches without noiſe, and formed ſo as to have their flanks equal to their front; each ſide of the ſquare extending to thirty furlongs. Their cavalry, to the number of fifteen thouſand, iſſued forth in great ſplendor. Their helmets repreſented the * heads and open jaws of ſtrange and frightful wild beaſts: on theſe were fixed high † plumes, which made the men appear taller. Their breaſt-plates were of poliſhed iron, and their ſhields were white and glittering. Each man had two-edged darts to fight with at a diſtance, and when they came hand to hand, they uſed broad and heavy ſwords. In this engagement they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right, they endeavoured by little and little to encloſe the enemy between them and their infantry, who were poſted on the left. The Roman generals perceived their artful deſign, but were not able to reſtrain their own men. One happened to cry out, that the enemy fled, and they all ſet off upon the purſuit. In the mean time, the Barbarian foot came on, like a vaſt ſea. Marius having purified, lifted his hands towards heaven, and vowed an hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus, in the ſame poſture, promiſed to conſecrate a temple to

* Προτομη ſignifies the buſt or head either of man or animal.

† Λοφος πτερωτος, or *a tuft in the form of a wing*, is literally *a plume of feathers*.

to the fortune of that day. As Marius ſacrificed on this occaſion, it is ſaid that the entrails were no ſooner ſhewn to him, than he cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is mine."

However, when the battle was joined, an accident happened, which, as Sylla ‡ writes, appeared to be intended by heaven to humble Marius. A prodigious duſt, it ſeems, aroſe, which hid both armies. Marius moving firſt to the charge, had the misfortune to miſs the enemy; and having paſſed by their army, wandered about with his troops a long time in the field. In the mean time, the good fortune of Catulus directed the enemy to him, and it was his legions (in which Sylla tells us he fought) to whoſe lot the chief conflict fell. The heat of the weather, and the ſun which ſhone full in the faces of the Cimbri, fought for the Romans. Thoſe Barbarians, being bred in ſhady and frozen countries, could bear the ſevereſt cold, but were not proof againſt heat. Their bodies ſoon ran down with ſweat; they drew their breath with difficulty, and were forced to hold up their ſhields to ſhade their faces. Indeed, this battle was fought not long after the ſummer ſolſtice, and the Romans keep a feſtival for it on the third of the Calends of Auguſt, then called Sextilis. The duſt too, which hid the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For, as they could have no diſtinct view of the vaſt numbers of their antagoniſts, they ran to the charge, and were come to cloſe engagement before the ſight of ſuch multitudes could give them any impreſſions of terror. Beſides, the Romans were ſo ſtrengthened by labour and exerciſe, that not one of them was obſerved to ſweat or be out of breath, notwithſtanding the ſuffocating heat and the violence of the encounter. So Catulus himſelf is ſaid to have written, in commendation of his ſoldiers.

The

‡ It is a misfortune that Catulus's hiſtory of his conſulſhip, and a greater that Sylla's commentaries are loſt.

The greateſt and beſt part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces upon the ſpot; thoſe who fought in the front faſtened themſelves together, by long * cords run through their belts, to prevent their ranks from being broken. The Romans drove back the fugitives to their camp, where they found the moſt ſhocking ſpectacle. The women ſtanding in mourning by their carriages, killed thoſe that fled; ſome their huſbands, ſome their brothers, others their fathers. They ſtrangled their little children with their own hands, and threw them under the wheels and horſes feet. Laſt of all, they killed themſelves. They tell us of one that was ſeen ſlung from the top of a waggon, with a child hanging at each heel. The men, for want of trees, tied themſelves by the neck, ſome to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, and then pricked them on; that by the ſtarting of the beaſts they might be ſtrangled or torn to pieces. But, though they were ſo induſtrious to deſtroy themſelves, above ſixty thouſand were taken priſoners, and the killed were ſaid to have been twice the number.

Marius's ſoldiers plundered the baggage; but the other ſpoils, with the enſigns and trumpets, they tell us, were brought to the camp of Catulus; and he availed himſelf chiefly of this, as a proof that the victory belonged to him. A hot diſpute, it ſeems, aroſe between his troops and thoſe of Marius, which had the beſt claim; and the ambaſſadors from Parma, who happened to be there, were choſen arbitrators. Catulus's ſoldiers led them to the field of battle to ſee the dead, and clearly proved that they were killed by their javelins, becauſe Catulus had taken care to have the ſhafts inſcribed with his name. Nevertheleſs, the whole honour of the day was aſcribed to Marius,

* This was an abſurd contrivance to keep their ranks. But they intended alſo to have bound their priſoners with the cords after the battle.

Marius, on account of his former victory, and his preſent authority. Nay, ſuch was the applauſe of the populace, that they called him *the third founder of* Rome, as having reſcued her from a danger, not leſs dreadful than that from the Gauls. In their rejoicings at home with their wives and children, at ſupper they offered libations to Marius along with the gods, and would have given him alone the honour of both triumphs. He declined this indeed, and triumphed with Catulus, being deſirous to ſhew his moderation after ſuch extraordinary inſtances of ſucceſs. Or perhaps he was afraid of ſome oppoſition from Catulus's ſoldiers, who might not have ſuffered him to triumph, if he had deprived their general of his ſhare of the honour.

In this manner his fifth conſulate was paſſed. And now he aſpired to a ſixth, with more ardour than any man had ever ſhewn for his firſt. He courted the people, and endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with the meaneſt of them by ſuch ſervile condeſcenſions, as were not only unſuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his diſpoſition; aſſuming an air of gentleneſs and complaiſance, for which nature never meant him. It is ſaid, that in civil affairs and the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him an uncommon timidity. That intrepid firmneſs which he diſcovered in battle forſook him in the aſſemblies of the people, and the leaſt breath of praiſe or diſlike diſconcerted him in his addreſs. Yet we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thouſand Camerians, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their behaviour in the wars, and his proceeding was found fault with as contrary to law, he ſaid, "The law "ſpoke too ſoftly to be heard amidſt the din of "arms." However, the noiſe that he dreaded, and that robbed him of his preſence of mind, was that of popular aſſemblies. In war he eaſily obtained the higheſt rank, becauſe they could not do without him; but

but in the adminiſtration he was ſometimes in danger of loſing the honours he ſolicited. In theſe caſes he had recourſe to the partiality of the multitude; and had no ſcruple of making his honeſty ſubſervient to his ambition.

By theſe means he made himſelf obnoxious to all the patricians. But he was moſt afraid of Metellus, whom he had treated with ingratitude. Beſides, Metellus was a man, who, from a ſpirit of true virtue, was naturally an enemy to thoſe who endeavoured to gain the populace by evil arts, and directed all their meaſures to pleaſe them. Marius, therefore, was very deſirous to get him out of the way. For this purpoſe he aſſociated with Glaucias and Saturninus, two of the moſt daring and turbulent men in Rome, who had the indigent and ſeditious part of the people at their command. By their aſſiſtance he got ſeveral laws enacted; and having planted many of his ſoldiers in the aſſemblies, his faction prevailed, and Metellus was overborne.

Rutilius, * in other reſpects a man of credit and veracity, but particularly prejudiced againſt Marius, tells us, he obtained his ſixth conſulate by large ſums which he diſtributed among the tribes, and having thrown out Metellus by dint of money, prevailed with them to elect Valerius Flaccus, rather his ſervant than his collegue. The people had never before beſtowed ſo many conſulates on any one man, except † Valerius Corvinus. And there was this great difference,

* P. Rutilius Rufus was conſul the year before the ſecond conſulſhip of Marius. He wrote his own life in Latin, and a Roman hiſtory in Greek. Cicero mentions him on ſeveral occaſions, as a man of honour and probity. He was exiled ſix or ſeven years after this ſixth conſulſhip of Marius. Sylla would have recalled him, but he refuſed to return.

† Valerius Corvinus was elected conſul, when he was only twenty-three years of age, in the year of Rome four hundred and ſix; and he was appointed conſul the ſixth time in the year of Rome four hundred and fifty-two.

difference, that between the firſt and ſixth conſulate of Corvinus there was an interval of forty-five years; whereas Marius, after his firſt, was carried through five more without interruption, by one tide of fortune.

In the laſt of theſe, he expoſed himſelf to much hatred, by abetting Saturninus in all his crimes; particularly in his murder of Nonius, whom he ſlew becauſe he was his competitor for the tribuneſhip. Saturninus, being appointed tribune of the people, propoſed an Agrarian law, in which there was a clauſe expreſly providing, "That the ſenate ſhould "come and ſwear in full aſſembly, to confirm what-"ever the people ſhould decree, and not oppoſe "them in any thing." Marius in the ſenate pretended to declare againſt this clauſe, aſſerting that, "He "would never take ſuch an oath, and that he be-"lieved no wiſe man would. For, ſuppoſing the "law not a bad one, it would be a diſgrace to the "ſenate to be compelled to give ſanction to a thing, "which they ſhould be brought to only by choice "or perſuaſion."

Theſe, however, were not his real ſentiments; but he was laying for Metellus an unavoidable ſnare. As to himſelf, he reckoned that a great part of virtue and prudence conſiſted in diſſimulation, therefore he made but ſmall account of his declaration in the ſenate. At the ſame time, knowing Metellus to be a man of immoveable firmneſs, who, with Pindar, eſteemed *Truth the ſpring of heroic virtue*, he hoped, by refuſing the oath himſelf, to draw in him to refuſe it too; which would infallibly expoſe him to the implacable reſentment of the people. The event anſwered his expectation. Upon Metellus's declaring that he would not take the oath, the ſenate was diſmiſſed. A few days after, Saturninus ſummoned the fathers to appear in the *Forum*, and ſwear to that article, and Marius made his appearance among the reſt. A profound ſilence enſued, and

and all eyes were fixed upon him, when bidding adieu to the fine things he had ſaid in the ſenate, he told the audience, "That he was not ſo opiniònated, as "to pretend abſolutely to prejudge a matter of ſuch "importance, and therefore he would take the oath, "and keep the law too, provided it was a law." This proviſo he added, merely to give a colour to his impudence, and was ſworn immediately.*

The people, charmed with his compliance, expreſſed their ſenſe of it in loud acclamations; while the patricians were abaſhed, and held his double-dealing in the higheſt deteſtation. Intimidated by the people, they took the oath, however, in their order, 'till it came to Metellus. But Metellus, though his friends exhorted and intreated him to be conformable, and not expoſe himſelf to thoſe dreadful penalties which Saturninus had provided for ſuch as refuſed, ſhrunk not from the dignity of his reſolution, nor took the oath. That great man abode by his principles; he was ready to ſuffer the greateſt calamities, rather than do a diſhonourable thing; and as he quitted the *Forum*, he ſaid to thoſe about him, "To "do an ill action, is baſe; to do a good one, which "involves you in no danger, is nothing more than "common: but it is the property of a good man, "to do great and good things, though he riſques "every thing by it."

Saturninus then cauſed a decree to be made, that the conſuls ſhould declare Metellus a perſon interdicted

* Thus Marius made the firſt ſteps towards the ruin of the Roman conſtitution, which happened not long after. If the ſenate were to ſwear to confirm whatever the people ſhould decree, whether bad or good, they ceaſed to have a weight in the ſcale, and the government became a democracy. And, as the people grew ſo corrupt as to take the higheſt price that was offered them, abſolute power muſt be advancing with haſty ſtrides. Indeed, a nation which has no principle of public virtue left, is not fit to be governed by any other.

dicted the uſe of fire and water, whom no man ſhould admit into his houſe. And the meaneſt of the people adhering to that party, were ready even to aſſaſſinate him. The nobility, now anxious for Metellus, ranged themſelves on his ſide; but he would ſuffer no ſedition on his account. Inſtead of that, he adopted a wiſe meaſure, which was to leave the city. "For," ſaid he, "either matters will take "a better turn, and the people repent and recall "me; or if they remain the ſame, it will be beſt to "be at a diſtance from Rome." What regard and what honours were paid Metellus during his baniſhment, and how he lived at Rhodes in the ſtudy of philoſophy, it will be more convenient to mention in his life.

Marius was ſo highly obliged to Saturninus for this laſt piece of ſervice, that he was forced to connive at him, though he now ran out into every act of inſolence and outrage. He did not conſider that he was giving the reins to a deſtroying fury, who was making his way in blood to abſolute power and the ſubverſion of the ſtate. All this while Marius was deſirous to keep fair with the nobility, and at the ſame time to retain the good graces of the people; and this led him to act a part, than which nothing can be conceived more ungenerous and deceitful. One night ſome of the firſt men in the ſtate came to his houſe, and preſt him to declare againſt Saturninus: but at that very time he let in Saturninus at another door unknown to them. Then pretending a diſorder in his bowels, he went from one party to the other; and this trick he played ſeveral times over, ſtill exaſperating both againſt each other. At laſt the ſenate and the equeſtrian order roſe in a body, and expreſſed their indignation in ſuch ſtrong terms, that he was obliged to ſend a party of ſoldiers into the *Forum*, to ſuppreſs the ſedition. Saturninus, Glaucias, and the reſt of the cabal, fled into the capitol. There they were beſieged, and at laſt forced to yield for want of

of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and ſurrendered themſelves to him upon the public faith. He tried every art to ſave them, but nothing would avail; they no ſooner came down into the *Forum*, than they were all put to the * ſword. He was now become equally odious both to the nobility and the commons, ſo that when the time for the election of cenſors came on, contrary to expectation he declined offering himſelf, and permitted others of leſs note to be choſen. But though it was his fear of a repulſe that made him ſit ſtill, he gave it another colour; pretending he did not chooſe to make himſelf obnoxious to the people, by a ſevere inſpection into their lives and manners.

An edict was now propoſed for the recall of Metellus Marius oppoſed it with all his power; but finding his endeavours fruitleſs, he gave up the point, and the people paſſed the bill with pleaſure. Unable to bear the ſight of Metellus, he contrived to take a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, under pretence of offering ſome ſacrifices which he had vowed to the mother of the gods. But he had another reaſon which was not known to the people. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unverſed in political knowledge, he ſaw that all his greatneſs aroſe from war, and that in a ſtate of inaction it's luſtre began to fade. He, therefore, ſtudied to raiſe new commotions. If he could but ſtir up the Aſiatic kings, and particularly Mithridates, who ſeemed moſt inclined to quarrel, he hoped ſoon to be appointed general againſt him, and to have an opportunity to fill the city with new triumphs, as well as to enrich his own houſe with the ſpoils of Pontus and the wealth of it's monarch. For this reaſon, though Mithridates treated him in the politeſt and moſt

* The people diſpatched him with clubs and ſtones.

moſt reſpectful manner, he was not in the leaſt mollified, but addreſſed him in the following terms--- "Mithridates, your buſineſs is, either to render "yourſelf more powerful than the Romans, or to "ſubmit quietly to their commands." The king was quite amazed. He had often heard of the liberty of ſpeech that prevailed among the Romans, but that was the firſt time he experienced it.

At his return to Rome, he built a houſe near the *Forum*; either for the convenience of thoſe who wanted to wait on him, which was the reaſon he aſſigned; or becauſe he hoped to have a greater concourſe of people at his gates. In this, however, he was miſtaken. He had not thoſe graces of converſation, that engaging addreſs, which others were maſters of; and therefore, like a mere implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. He was not ſo much concerned at the preference given to others, but that which Sylla had gained, afflicted him exceedingly; becauſe he was riſing by means of the envy which the patricians bore *him*, and his firſt ſtep to the adminiſtration was a quarrel with him. But when Bocchus, king of Numidia, now declared an ally of the Romans, erected in the capitol ſome figures of victory adorned with trophies, and placed by them a ſet of golden ſtatues, which repreſented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, Marius was almoſt diſtracted. He conſidered this as an act by which Sylla wanted to rob him of the glory of his atchievements, and prepared to demoliſh thoſe monuments by force. Sylla, on his part, as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him.

This ſedition was juſt upon the point of flaming out, when the * *war of the Allies* intervened, and put a ſtop to it. The moſt warlike and moſt populous nations of Italy conſpired againſt Rome, and were

* This was alſo called the Marſian war. It broke out in the ſix hundred and ſixty-ſecond year of Rome.
Vid. FLOR. L. iii. c. 18.

were not far from ſubverting the empire. Their ſtrength conſiſted not only in the weapons and valour of their ſoldiers, but in the courage and capacity of their generals, who were not inferior to thoſe of Rome.

This war, ſo remarkable for the number of battles and the variety of fortune that attended it, added as much to the reputation of Sylla, as it diminiſhed that of Marius. The latter now ſeemed ſlow in his attacks, as well as dilatory in his reſolutions: whether it were, that age had quenched his martial heat and vigour (for he was now above ſixty-five years old) or that, as he himſelf ſaid, his nerves being weak, and his body unwieldy, he underwent the fatigues of war, which were in fact above his ſtrength, merely upon a point of honour. However, he beat the enemy in a great battle, wherein he killed at leaſt ſix thouſand of them, and through the whole he took care to give them no advantage over him. Nay, he ſuffered them to draw a line about him, to ridicule, and challenge him to the combat, without being in the leaſt concerned at it. It is reported, that when Popedius Silo, an officer of the greateſt eminence and authority among the allies, ſaid to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come "down and fight us;" he anſwered, "If you are a "great general, Silo, make me come down and "fight." Another time, when the enemy gave the Romans a good opportunity of attacking them, and they were afraid to embrace it; after both parties were retired, he called his ſoldiers together, and made this ſhort ſpeech to them---"I know not which "to call the greateſt cowards, the enemy or you; "for neither dare they face your backs, nor you "theirs." At laſt, pretending to be incapacitated for the ſervice by his infirmities, he laid down the command.

Yet when the war with the confederates drew to an end, and ſeveral applications were made, through the

the popular orators, for the command againſt Mithridates, the tribune Sulpitius, a bold and daring man, contrary to all expectation, brought forth Marius, and nominated him proconſul and general in the Mithridatic war. The people, upon this, were divided, ſome accepting Marius, while others called for Sylla, and bade Marius go to the warm baths of Baiae for cure, ſince, by his own confeſſion he was quite worn out with age and defluxions. It ſeems, Marius had a fine *Villa* at Miſenum, more luxuriouſly and effeminately furniſhed, than became a man who had been at the head of ſo many armies, and had directed ſo many campaigns. Cornelia is ſaid to have bought this houſe for ſeventy-five thouſand drachmas; yet, no long time after, Lucius Lucullus gave for it five hundred thouſand two hundred: to ſuch a height did expence and luxury riſe in the courſe of a few years.

Marius, however, affecting to ſhake off the infirmities of age, went every day into the *Campus Martius*; where he took the moſt robuſt exerciſes along with the young men, and ſhewed himſelf nimble in his arms, and active on horſeback, though his years had now made him heavy and corpulent. Some were pleaſed with theſe things, and went to ſee the ſpirit he exerted in the exerciſes. But the more ſenſible ſort of people, when they beheld it, could not help pitying the avarice and ambition of a man, who, though raiſed from poverty to opulence, and from the meaneſt condition to greatneſs, knew not how to ſet bounds to his good fortune. It ſhocked them to think, that this man, inſtead of being happy in the admiration he had gained, and enjoying his preſent poſſeſſions in peace, as if he were in want of all things, was going, at ſo great an age, and after ſo many honours and triumphs, to Cappadocia and the Euxine ſea, to fight with Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Mithridates. As for the reaſon that Marius aſſigned for this ſtep, namely, that he

he wanted himſelf to train up his ſon to war, it was perfectly trifling.

The commonwealth had been ſickly for ſome time, and now her diſorder came to a criſis. Marius had found a fit inſtrument for her ruin in the audacity of Sulpitius. A man who in other reſpects admired and imitated Saturninus, but conſidered him as too timid and dilatory in his proceedings. Determined to commit no ſuch error, he got ſix hundred men of the equeſtrian order about him, as his guard, whom he called his *Anti-ſenate*.

One day while the * conſuls were holding an aſſembly of the people, Sulpitius came upon them with his aſſaſſins. The conſuls immediately fled, but he ſeized the ſon of one of them, and killed him on the ſpot. Sylla (the other conſul) was purſued, but eſcaped into the houſe of Marius, which nobody thought of; and when the purſuers were gone by, it is ſaid that Marius himſelf let him out at a back gate, from whence he got ſafe to the camp. But Sylla, in his commentaries, denies that he fled to the houſe of Marius. He writes, that he was taken thither to debate about certain edicts, which they wanted him to paſs againſt his will: that he was ſurrounded with drawn ſwords, and carried forcibly to that houſe: and that at laſt he was removed from thence to the *Forum*, where he was compelled to revoke the † order of vacation, which had been iſſued by him and his collegue.

Sulpitius, now carrying all before him, decreed the command of the army to Marius; and Marius, preparing for his march, ſent two tribunes to Sylla, with orders that he ſhould deliver up the army to them. But Sylla, inſtead of reſigning his charge, animated

* Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were conſuls. It was the ſon of the latter that was ſlain.

† If that order had not been revoked, no public buſineſs could have been done; conſequently Marius could not have been appointed to the command againſt Mithridates.

animated his troops to revenge, and led them, to the number of thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, directly againſt Rome. As for the tribunes whom Marius had ſent to demand the army of Sylla, they fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Marius, on the other hand, put to death many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to all ſlaves that would take up arms in his behalf. But, we are told, there were but three that accepted this offer. He could therefore make but a ſlight reſiſtance; Sylla ſoon entered the city, and Marius was forced to fly for his life.

As ſoon as he had quitted Rome, he was abandoned by thoſe that had accompanied him. They diſperſed themſelves as they could; and night coming on, he retired to a little houſe he had near Rome, called Salonium. Thence he ſent his ſon to ſome neighbouring farms of his father-in-law Mutius, to provide neceſſaries. However, he did not wait for his return, but went down to Oſtia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had prepared him a ſhip, and embarked, having with him only Granius, his wife's ſon by a former huſband.

When young Marius had reached his grandfather's eſtate, he haſtened to collect ſuch things as he wanted, and to pack them up. But before he could make an end, he was overtaken by day-light; and was near being diſcovered by the enemy; for a party of horſe had haſtened thither, on ſuſpicion that Marius might be lurking thereabouts. The bailiff of thoſe grounds got ſight of them in time, and hid the young man in a cart-load of beans. Then he put to his team, and driving up to the party of horſemen, paſſed on to Rome. Thus young Marius was conveyed to his wife, who ſupplied him with ſome neceſſaries; and as ſoon as it grew dark, he made for the ſea, where finding a ſhip ready to ſail for Africa, he embarked, and paſſed over to that country.

In the mean time, the elder Marius with a favourable gale coaſted Italy. But being afraid of falling into the hands of Geminius, a leading man in Tarracina, who was his profeſſed enemy, he directed the mariners to keep clear of that place. The mariners were willing enough to oblige him; but, the wind ſhifting on a ſudden, and blowing hard from ſea, they were afraid they ſhould not be able to weather the ſtorm. Beſides, Marius was indiſpoſed and ſea-ſick: they concluded therefore to make land, and with great difficulty got to Circaeum. There finding that the tempeſt increaſed, and their proviſions began to fail, they went on ſhore, and wandered up and down, they knew not whither. Such is the method taken by perſons in great perplexity; they ſhun the preſent as the greateſt evil, and ſeek for hope in the dark events of futurity. The land was their enemy, the ſea was the ſame: it was dangerous to meet with men; it was dangerous alſo not to meet with them, becauſe of their extreme want of proviſions. In the evening they met with a few herdſmen, who had nothing to give them; but happening to know Marius, they deſired he would immediately quit thoſe parts, for a little before they had ſeen a number of horſe upon that very ſpot riding about in ſearch of him. He was now involved in all manner of diſtreſs, and thoſe about him ready to give out through hunger. In this extremity he turned out of the road, and threw himſelf into a thick wood, where he paſſed the night in great anxiety. Next day in diſtreſs for want of refreſhment, and willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had, before it quite forſook him, he moved down to the ſea-ſide. As he went, he encouraged his companions not to deſert him, and earneſtly intreated them to wait for the accompliſhment of his laſt hope, for which he reſerved himſelf, upon the credit of ſome old prophecies. He told them, that when he was very young, and lived in the country,

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an eagle's neſt fell into his lap, with *ſeven young ones in it. His parents, ſurpriſed at the ſight, applied to the diviners, who anſwered, that their ſon would be the moſt illuſtrious of men, and that he would ſeven times attain the higheſt office and authority in his country.

Some ſay, this had actually happened to Marius; others are of opinion, that the perſons who were then about him, and heard him relate it, on that as well as ſeveral other occaſions, during his exile, gave credit to it, and committed it to writing, though nothing could be more fabulous. For an eagle has not more than two young ones at a time. Nay, even Muſaeus is accuſed of a falſe aſſertion, when he ſays, *The eagle lays three eggs, ſits on two, and hatches but one.* However, this may be, it is agreed on all hands, that Marius, during his baniſhment and in the greateſt extremities, often ſaid, "he ſhould certainly "come to a ſeventh conſulſhip."

They were now not above two miles and a half from the city of Minturnae, when they eſpied at ſome conſiderable diſtance a troop of horſe making towards them, and at the ſame time happened to ſee two barks ſailing near the ſhore. They ran down, therefore, to the ſea, with all the ſpeed and ſtrength they had; and when they had reached it, plunged in, and ſwam towards the ſhips. Granius gained one of them, and paſſed over to an oppoſite iſland, called Ænaria: as for Marius, who was very heavy and unwieldy, he was borne with much difficulty by two ſervants above the water, and put into the other ſhip. The party of horſe were by this time come to the ſea-ſide, from whence they called to the ſhip's crew, either to put aſhore immediately, or elſe to throw Marius over-board, and then they might go where they pleaſed. Marius begged of them with tears to ſave him; and the maſters of the veſſel, after conſulting

* Marius might as well avail himſelf of this fable, as of the prophecies of Martha.

ing together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions ſeveral times, reſolved to make anſwer, "That they would not deliver up Marius." Upon this, the ſoldiers rode off in a great rage; and the ſailors, ſoon departing from their reſolution, made for land. They caſt anchor in the mouth of the river Liris, where it overflows, and forms a marſh, and adviſed Marius, who was much harraſſed, to go and refreſh himſelf on ſhore, 'till they could get a better wind. This they ſaid would happen at a certain hour, when the wind from the ſea would fall, and that from the marſhes riſe. Marius believing them, they helped him aſhore; and he ſeated himſelf on the graſs, little thinking of what was going to befal him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and ſailed away; thinking it neither honourable to deliver up Marius, nor ſafe to protect him.

Thus deſerted by all the world, he ſate a good while on the ſhore, in ſilent ſtupefaction. At length, recovering himſelf with much difficulty, he roſe and walked in a diſconſolate manner through thoſe wild and devious places, 'till by ſcrambling over deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens. He threw himſelf at his feet, and begged him "to "ſave and ſhelter a man, who, if he eſcaped the "preſent danger, would reward him far beyond his "hopes." The cottager, whether he knew him before, or was then moved with his venerable aſpect, told him, "his hut would be ſufficient, if he wanted "only to repoſe himſelf; but if he was wandering "about to elude the ſearch of his enemies, he would "hide him in a place much ſafer and more retired." Marius deſiring him to do ſo, the poor man took him into the fens, and bade him hide himſelf in a hollow place by the river, where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds and other light things, that would cover, but not oppreſs him.

In

In a ſhort time, however, he was diſturbed with a tumultuous noiſe from the cottage. For Geminius had ſent a number of men from Tarracina in purſuit of him; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man, for having entertained and concealed an enemy of the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave; and having ſtript himſelf, plunged into the bog, amidſt the thick water and mud. This expedient rather diſcovered, than ſcreened him. They hauled him out naked, and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnae, where they delivered him to the magiſtrates. For proclamation had been made through all thoſe towns, that a general ſearch ſhould be made for Marius, and that he ſhould be put to death, wherever he was found. The magiſtrates, however, thought proper to conſider of it, and ſent him under a guard to the houſe of Fannia. This woman had an inveterate averſion to Marius. When ſhe was divorced from her huſband Tinnius, ſhe demanded her whole fortune, which was conſiderable, and Tinnius alledging adultery, the cauſe was brought before Marius, who was then conſul for the ſixth time. Upon the trial it appeared that Fannia was a woman of bad fame before her marriage; and that Tinnius was no ſtranger to her character, when he married her. Beſides, he had lived with her a conſiderable time in the ſtate of matrimony. The conſul, of courſe, reprimanded them both. The huſband was ordered to reſtore his wife's fortune, and the wife, as a proper mark of her diſgrace, was ſentenced to pay a fine of four drachmas.

Fannia, however, forgetful of female reſentment, entertained and encouraged Marius to the utmoſt of her power. He acknowledged her generoſity, and at the ſame time expreſſed the greateſt vivacity and confidence. The occaſion of this was an auſpicious omen. When he was conducted to her houſe, as he approached, and the gate was opened, an aſs came out to drink at a neighbouring fountain. The animal, with

with a vivacity uncommon to it's ſpecies, fixed it's eyes ſteadfaſtly on Marius, then brayed aloud, and as it paſſed him, ſkipped wantonly along. The concluſion which he drew from this omen was, that the gods meant he ſhould ſeek his ſafety by ſea; for that it was not in conſequence of any natural thirſt, that the aſs went to the fountain *. This circumſtance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered the door of his chamber to be ſecured, he went to reſt.

However, the magiſtrates and council of Minturnae concluded that Marius ſhould immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office; but a dragoon, either a Gaul, or a Cimbrian (for both are mentioned in hiſtory) went up to him, ſword in hand, with an intent to diſpatch him. The chamber, in which he lay, was ſomewhat gloomy, and a light, they tell you, glanced from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the aſſaſſin; while at the ſame time, he heard a ſolemn voice ſaying, "doſt thou dare to kill Marius?" upon this the aſſaſſin threw down his ſword, and fled, crying "I cannot kill Marius." The people of Minturnae were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment---pity and remorſe enſued---ſhould they put to death the preſerver of Italy? was it not even a diſgrace to them that they did not contribute to his relief? "let him go," ſaid they; "let the exile go, and await his deſtiny in "ſome other region! it is time we ſhould deprecate "the anger of the gods, who have refuſed the poor, "the naked wanderer, the common privileges of "hoſpitality!" Under the influence of this enthuſiaſm, they immediately conducted him to the ſea coaſt. Yet in the midſt of their officious expedition they met with ſome delay. The Marician grove, which they hold ſacred, and ſuffer nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way. Con-

* All that was extraordinary in this circumſtance was, that the aſs, like the ſheep, is ſeldom ſeen to drink.

Conſequently they could not paſs through it, and to go round it would be tedious. At laſt an old man of the company cried out, that no place, however religious, was inacceſſible, if it could contribute to the preſervation of Marius. No ſooner had he ſaid this, than he took ſome of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The reſt followed with the ſame alacrity, and when Marius came to the ſea-coaſt, he found a veſſel provided for him by one Belaeus. Some time after he preſented a picture repreſenting this event to the temple of * Marica. When Marius ſet ſail, the wind drove him to the iſland of Ænaria, where he found Granius and ſome other friends, and with them he ſailed for Africa. Being in want of freſh water, they were obliged to put in at Sicily, where the Roman quaeſtor kept ſuch ſtrict watch, that Marius very narrowly eſcaped, and no fewer than ſixteen of the watermen were killed. From thence he immediately ſailed for the iſland of Meninx, where he firſt heard that his ſon had eſcaped with Cethegus, and was come to implore the ſuccour of Hiempſal, king of Numidia. This gave him ſome encouragement, and immediately he ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor in Africa was Sextilius. He had neither received favour nor injury from Marius; but the exile hoped for ſomething from his pity. He was juſt landed with a few of his men, when an officer came and thus addreſſed him, "Ma-"rius, I come from the praetor Sextilius, to tell "you, that he forbids you to ſet foot in Africa. If "you obey not, he will ſupport the ſenate's decree, "and treat you as a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was ſtruck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for ſome time, but ſtood regarding the officer with a menacing aſpect. At length, the officer aſked him, what anſwer he ſhould

* Virgil mentions this nymph, Æn. 7.

——Et nympha genitum Laurente Marica.

carry to the governor. "Go and tell him," ſaid the unfortunate man with a ſigh, "that * thou haſt ſeen "the exiled Marius ſitting on the ruins of Carthage." Thus in the happieſt manner in the world, he propoſed the fate of that city, and his own, as warnings to the praetor.

In the mean time, Hiempſal, king of Numidia, was unreſolved how to act with reſpect to young Marius. He treated him in an honourable manner at his court, but whenever he deſired leave to depart, found ſome pretence or other to detain him. At the ſame time it was plain, that theſe delays did not proceed from any intention of ſerving him. An accident, however, ſet him free. The young man was handſome. One of the king's concubines was affected with his misfortunes. Pity ſoon turned to love. At firſt he rejected the woman's advances. But when he ſaw no other way to gain his liberty, and found that her regards were rather delicate than groſs, he accepted the tender of her heart; and by her means eſcaped with his friends, and came to his father.

After the firſt ſalutations, as they walked along the ſhore, they ſaw two ſcorpions fighting. This appeared to Marius an ill omen; they went, therefore, on board a fiſhing-boat, and made for Cercina, an iſland not far diſtant from the continent. They were ſcarce got out to ſea, when they ſaw a party of the king's horſe on full ſpeed towards the place where they embarked: ſo that Marius thought he never eſcaped a more inſtant danger.

He was now informed, that while Sylla was engaged in Boeotia with the lieutenants of Mithridates, a quarrel had happened between the conſuls † at Rome, and that they had recourſe to arms. Octavius, having

* There is not, perhaps, any thing nobler, or agreater proof of genius, than this ſaying, in Marius's whole life.

† The year of Rome 666, and eighty-five years before Chriſt. Cinna was for recalling the exiles, and Octavius was againſt it.

the advantage, drove out Cinna, who was aiming at abſolute power, and appointed Cornelius Merula conſul in his room. Cinna collected forces in other parts of Italy, and maintained the war againſt them. Marius, upon this news, determined to haſten to Cinna. He took with him ſome Mauruſian horſe which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above a thouſand men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuſcany called Telamon, and as ſoon as he was landed, proclaimed liberty to the ſlaves. The name of Marius brought down numbers of freemen too, huſbandmen, ſhepherds, and ſuch like, to the ſhore; the ableſt of which he enliſted, and in a ſhort time had a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ſhips. He knew Octavius to be a man of good principles, and diſpoſed to govern agreeably to juſtice; but Cinna was obnoxious to his enemy Sylla, and at that time in open war againſt the eſtabliſhed government. He reſolved, therefore, to join Cinna with all his forces. Accordingly, he ſent to acquaint him, that he conſidered him as conſul, and was ready to obey his commands. Cinna accepted his offer, declared him proconſul, and ſent him the *faſces* and other enſigns of authority. But Marius declined them, alledging that ſuch pomp did not become his ruined fortunes. Inſtead of that, he wore a mean garment, and let his hair grow as it had done from the day of his exile. He was now, indeed, upwards of ſeventy years old, but he walked with a pace affectedly ſlow. This appearance was intended to excite compaſſion. Yet his native fierceneſs, and ſomething more, might be diſtinguiſhed amidſt all this look of miſery; and it was evident that he was not ſo much humbled, as exaſperated, by his misfortunes.

When he had ſaluted Cinna, and made a ſpeech to the army, he immediately began his operations, and ſoon changed the face of affairs. In the firſt place,

place, he cut off the enemy's convoys with his fleet, plundered their ſtoreſhips, and made himſelf maſter of the bread-corn. In the next place, he coaſted along, and ſeized the ſea-port towns. At laſt, Oſtia itſelf was betrayed to him. He pillaged the town, ſlew moſt of the inhabitants, and threw a bridge over the Tiber, to prevent the carrying of any proviſions to Rome by ſea. Then he marched to Rome, and poſted himſelf upon the hill called Janiculum.

Mean while, the cauſe did not ſuffer ſo much by the incapacity of Octavius, as by his anxious and unſeaſonable attention to the laws. For, when many of his friends adviſed him to enfranchiſe the ſlaves, he ſaid, "He would not grant ſuch perſons the free-"dom of that city, in defence of whoſe conſtitution "he ſhut out Marius."

But upon the arrival of Metellus, the ſon of that Metellus, who commanded in the African war, and was afterwards baniſhed by Marius, the army within the walls leaving Octavius, applied to him, as the better officer, and intreated him to take the command; adding, that they ſhould fight and conquer, when they had got an able and active general. Metellus, however, rejected their ſuit with indignation, and bade them go back to the conſul; inſtead of which, they went over to the enemy. At the ſame time Metellus withdrew, giving up the city for loſt.

As for Octavius, he ſtayed, at the perſuaſion of certain Chaldaean diviners and expoſitors of the Sibylline books, who promiſed him that all would be well. Octavius was indeed one of the moſt upright men among the Romans: he ſupported his dignity as conſul, without giving any ear to flatterers, and regarded the laws and ancient uſages of his country as rules never to be departed from. Yet he had all the weakneſs of ſuperſtition, and ſpent more of his time with fortune-tellers and prognoſticators, than with men of political or military abilities. However,

before Marius entered the city, Octavius was dragged from the tribunal and ſlain by perſons commiſſioned for that purpoſe, and it is ſaid that a Chaldaean ſcheme was found in his boſom as he lay. It ſeems unaccountable, that of two ſuch generals, as Marius and Octavius, the one ſhould be ſaved, and the other ruined, by a confidence in divination.

While affairs were in this poſture, the ſenate aſſembled, and ſent ſome of their own body to Cinna and Marius, with a requeſt that they ſhould come into the city, but ſpare the inhabitants. Cinna, as conſul, received them, ſitting in his chair of ſtate, and gave them an obliging anſwer. But Marius ſtood by the conſul's chair, and ſpoke not a word. He ſhewed, however, by the gloomineſs of his look, and the menacing ſenſe of his eye, that he would ſoon fill the city with blood. Immediately after this, they moved forward towards Rome. Cinna entered the city with a ſtrong guard: But Marius ſtopped at the gates, with a diſſimulation dictated by his reſentment. He ſaid, "He was a baniſhed man, and "the laws prohibited his return. If his country wan-"ted his ſervice, ſhe muſt repeal the law which "drove him into exile." As if he had a real regard for the laws, or were entering a city ſtill in poſſeſſion of it's liberty.

The people, therefore, were ſummoned to aſſemble for that purpoſe. But before three or four tribes had given their ſuffrages, he put off the maſk, and, without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered with a guard ſelected from the ſlaves that had repaired to his ſtandard. Theſe he called his Bardiaeans. * At the leaſt word or ſign given by Marius, they murdered all whom he marked for deſtruction. So that when Ancharius, a ſenator, and a man of praetorian dignity,

* M. de Thou conjectured that we ſhould read Bardyetae, becauſe there was a fierce and barbarous people in Spain of that name. Some manuſcripts have Ortiaeans.

dignity, ſaluted Marius, and he returned not the ſalutation, they killed him in his preſence. After this, they conſidered it as a ſignal to kill any man, who ſaluted Marius in the ſtreets, and was not taken any notice of: So that his very friends were ſeized with horror, whenever they went to pay their reſpects to him.

When they had butchered great numbers, Cinna's revenge began to pall: it was ſatiated with blood--- But the fury of Marius ſeemed rather to increaſe: his appetite for ſlaughter was ſharpened by indulgence, and he went on deſtroying all who gave him the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion. Every road, every town was full of aſſaſſins, purſuing and hunting the unhappy victims.

On this occaſion it was found, that no obligations of friendſhip, no rights of hoſpitality can ſtand the ſhock of ill fortune. For there were very few who did not betray thoſe that had taken refuge in their houſes. The ſlaves of Cornutus, therefore, deſerve the higheſt admiration. They hid their maſter in the houſe, and took a dead body out of the ſtreet from among the ſlain, and hanged it by the neck: then they put a gold ring on the finger, and ſhewed the corpſe in that condition to Marius's executioners; after which, they dreſt it for the funeral, and buried it as their maſter's body. No one ſuſpected the matter; and Cornutus, after being concealed as long as it was neceſſary, was conveyed by thoſe ſervants into Galatia.

Mark Antony the orator likewiſe found a faithful friend, but did not ſave his life by it. This friend of his was in a low ſtation of life: however, as he had one of the greateſt men in Rome under his roof, he entertained him in the beſt manner he could, and often ſent to a neighbouring tavern for wine for him. The vintner finding that the ſervant who fetched it, was ſomething of a connoiſeur in taſting the wine, and inſiſted on having bet-

ter, aſked him, "Why he was not ſatisfied with the "common new wine he uſed to have; but want-"ed the beſt and the deareſt?" The ſervant, in the ſimplicity of his heart, told him, as his friend and acquaintance, that the wine was for Mark Antony, who lay concealed in his maſter's houſe. As ſoon as he was gone, the knowing vintner went himſelf to Marius, who was then at ſupper; and told him, he could put Antony into his power: Upon which, Marius clapped his hands in the agitation of joy, and would even have left his company, and gone to the place himſelf had not he been diſſuaded by his friends. However, he ſent an officer, named Annius, with ſome ſoldiers, and ordered him to bring the head of Antony. When they came to the houſe, Annius ſtood at the door, while the ſoldiers got up by a ladder into Antony's chamber. When they ſaw him, they encouraged each other to the execution; but, ſuch was the power of his eloquence, when he pleaded for his life, that, ſo far from laying hands on him, they ſtood motionleſs, with dejected eyes, and wept. During this delay, Annius goes up, beholds Antony addreſſing the ſoldiers, and the ſoldiers confounded by the force of his addreſs. Upon this, he reproved them for their weakneſs, and with his own hand cut off the orator's head. Lutatius Catulus, the collegue of Marius, who had jointly triumphed with him over the Cimbri, finding that every interceſſory effort was vain, ſhut himſelf up in a narrow chamber, and ſuffered himſelf to be ſuffocated by the ſteam of a large coal fire. When the bodies were thrown out and trode upon in the ſtreets---it was not pity they excited; it was horror and diſmay. But what ſhocked the people much more was the conduct of the Bardiaeans, who, after they had murdered the maſters of families, expoſed the nakedneſs of their children, and indulged their paſſions with their wives. In ſhort, their violence and rapacity were beyond all reſtraint, till Cinna

and

and Sertorius determined, in council, to fall upon them in their ſleep, and cut them off to a man.

At this time the tide of affairs took a ſudden turn. News was brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that after having reduced the provinces, he was returning to Rome with a large army. This gave a ſhort reſpite, a breathing from theſe inexpreſſible troubles; as the apprehenſions of war had been univerſally prevalent. Marius was now choſen conſul the ſeventh time, and as he was walking out on the calends of January, the firſt day of the year, he ordered Sextus Lucinus to be ſeized, and thrown down the Tarpeian rock; a circumſtance, which occaſioned an unhappy preſage of approaching evils. The conſul himſelf, worn out with a ſeries of misfortunes and diſtreſs, found his faculties fail, and trembled at the approach of wars and conflicts. For he conſidered that it was not an Octavius, a Merula, the deſperate leaders of a ſmall ſedition, he had to contend with, but Sylla, the conqueror of Mithridates, and the baniſher of Marius. Thus agitated, thus revolving the miſeries, the flights, the dangers he had experienced both by land and ſea, his inquietude affected him even by night, and a voice ſeemed continually to pronounce in his ear:

Dread are the ſlumbers of the diſtant lion.

Unable to ſupport the painfulneſs of watching, he had recourſe to the bottle, and gave into thoſe exceſſes, which by no means ſuited his years. At laſt, when, by intelligence from ſea, he was convinced of the approach of Sylla, his apprehenſions were heightened to the greateſt degree. The dread of his approach, the pain of continual anxiety threw him into a pleuritic fever; and in this ſtate, Poſidonius, the philoſopher, tells us, he found him, when he went to ſpeak to him on ſome affairs of his embaſſy. But Caius Piſo the hiſtorian relates, that walking out with his friends one evening after ſupper, he gave them a-

ſhort

ſhort hiſtory of his life, and, after expatiating on the uncertainty of Fortune, concluded that it was beneath the dignity of a wiſe man to live in ſubjection to that fickle deity. Upon this, he took leave of his friends, and betaking himſelf to his bed, died ſeven days after. There are thoſe who impute his death to the exceſs of his ambition, which, according to their account, threw him into a delirium; inſomuch that he fancied he was carrying on the war againſt Mithridates, and uttered all the expreſſions uſual in an engagement. Such was the violence of his ambition for that command!

Thus, at the age of ſeventy, diſtinguiſhed by the unparallelled honour of ſeven conſulſhips, and poſſeſſed of a more than regal fortune, Marius died with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted.

Plato, at the point of death, congratulated himſelf, in the firſt place, that he was born a man; in the next place, that he had the happineſs of being a Greek, not a Brute or Barbarian; and laſt of all, that he was the cotemporary of Sophocles. Antipater of Tarſus, too, a little before his death recollected the ſeveral advantages of his life, not forgetting even his ſucceſsful voyage to Athens. In ſettling his accounts with Fortune, he carefully entered every agreeable circumſtance in that excellent book of the mind, his memory. How much wiſer, how much happier than thoſe, who, forgetful of every bleſſing they have received, hang on the vain and deceitful hand of hope, and while they are idly graſping at future acquiſitions, neglect the enjoyment of the preſent! though the future gifts of Fortune are not in their power, and though their preſent poſſeſſions are not in the power of Fortune, they look up to the former and neglect the latter. Their puniſhment, however, is not leſs juſt, than it is certain. Before philoſophy and the cultivation of reaſon have laid a proper foundation for the management of wealth and power, they

they purſue them with that avidity, which muſt for ever harraſs an undiciſplined mind.

Marius died on the ſeventeenth day of his ſeventh conſulſhip. His death was productive of the greateſt joy in Rome, and the citizens looked upon it as an event that freed them from the worſt of tyrannies. It was not long, however, before they found that they had changed an old and feeble tyrant, for one who had youth and vigour to carry his cruelties into execution. Such they found the ſon of Marius, whoſe ſanguinary ſpirit ſhewed itſelf in the deſtruction of numbers of the nobility. His martial intrepidity and ferocious behaviour at firſt procured him the title of the ſon of Mars, but his conduct afterwards denominated him the ſon of Venus. When he was beſieged in Praeneſte, and had tried every little artifice to eſcape, he put an end to his life, that he might not fall into the hands of Sylla.

LYSANDER.

AMONG the ſacred depoſits of the Acanthians at Delphi, one has this inſcription, *BRASIDAS AND THE ACANTHIANS TOOK THIS FROM THE ATHENIANS. Hence many are of opinion, that the marble ſtatue which ſtands in the chapel of that nation juſt by the door, is the ſtatue of Braſidas. But in fact it is Lyſander's, whom it perfectly repreſents, with his hair at full † growth, and a length of beard, both after the ancient faſhion. It is not true, indeed, (as ſome would have it) that, while the Argives cut their hair in ſorrow for the loſs of a great battle, ‡ the Lacedaemonians began to let theirs grow in the joy of ſucceſs. Nor did they firſt give into this cuſtom,

* Braſidas, when general of the Lacedaemonians, perſuaded the people of Acanthus to quit the Athenian intereſt, and to receive the Spartans into their city. In conſequence of which he joined with them in conſecrating certain Athenian ſpoils to Apollo. The ſtatue, therefore, probably was his, though Plutarch thinks otherwiſe. Vid. THUCYD. lib. iv.

† Why might not Braſidas, who was a Lacedaemonian, and a contemporary of Lyſander, be repreſented with long hair as well as he?

‡ This was the opinion of Herodotus, but perfectly groundleſs.

som, when the * Bacchiadae fled from Corinth to Lacedaemon, and made a disagreeable appearance with their shorn locks. But it is derived from the institution of Lycurgus, who is reported to have said, that *long hair makes the handsome more beautiful, and the ugly more terrible.*

Aristoclitus †, the father of Lysander, is said not to have been of the royal line, but to be descended from the Heraclidae by another family. As for Lysander, he was bred up in poverty. No one conformed more freely to the Spartan discipline than he. He had a firm heart, above yielding to the charms of any pleasure, except that which results from the honour and success gained by great actions. And it was no fault at Sparta for young men to be led by this sort of pleasure. There they chuse to infuse into their children an early passion for glory, and teach them to be much affected by disgrace, as well as elated by praise. And he that is not moved at these things, is despised as a person of a mean soul, unambitious of the improvements of virtue.

That love of fame, then, and jealousy of honour, which ever influenced Lysander, were imbibed in his education; and consequently nature is not to be blamed for them. But the attention which he paid the great, in a manner that did not become a Spartan, and that easiness with which he bore the pride of power, whenever his own interest was concerned, may be ascribed to his disposition. This complaisance, however, is considered by some, as no small part of politics.

Aristotle ‡ somewhere observes, that great geniuses are generally of a melancholy turn, of which he gives instances in Socrates, Plato and Hercules; and he

* The Bacchiadae had kept up an oligarchy in Corinth for two hundred years, but were at last expelled by Cypselus, who made himself absolute master there. HERODOT. l. v.

† Pausanias calls him Aristocritus.

‡ Problem. sect. 30.

he tells us that Lyſander, though not in his youth, yet in his age was inclined to it. But what is moſt peculiar to his character, is, that though he bore poverty well himſelf, and was never either conquered or corrupted by money, yet he filled Sparta with it, and with the love of it too, and robbed her of the glory ſhe had of deſpiſing riches. For, after the Athenian war, he brought in a great quantity of gold and ſilver, but reſerved no part of it for himſelf. And when Dionyſius the tyrant ſent his daughters ſome rich Sicilian garments, he refuſed them, alledging, "He was afraid thoſe fine clothes would "make them look more homely." Being ſent, however, ſoon after, ambaſſador to Dionyſius, the tyrant offered him two veſts, that he might take one of them for his daughter; upon which, he ſaid, "His daughter knew better how to chooſe than he," and ſo took them both.

As the Peloponneſian war was drawn out to a great length, the Athenians, after their overthrow in Sicily, ſaw their fleets driven out of the ſea, and themſelves upon the verge of ruin. But Alcibiades, on his return from baniſhment, applied himſelf to remedy this evil, and ſoon made ſuch a change, that the Athenians were once more equal in naval conflicts to the Lacedaemonians. Hereupon the Lacedaemonians began to be afraid in their turn, and reſolved to proſecute the war with double diligence; and as they ſaw it required an able general, as well as great preparations, they gave the command at ſea to Lyſander.†

When he came to Epheſus, he found that city well inclined to the Lacedaemonians, but in a bad condition as to it's internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Perſians; becauſe it was near Lydia, and the king's lieutenants often

† In the firſt year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad, four hundred and ſix years before Chriſt.

often viſited it. Lyſander, therefore, having fixed his quarters there, ordered all his ſtore ſhips to be brought into their harbour, and built a dock for his galleys. By theſe means he filled their port with merchants, their market with buſineſs, and their houſes and ſhops with money. So that from that time and from his ſervices, Epheſus began to conceive hopes of that greatneſs and ſplendor in which it now flouriſhes.

As ſoon as he heard that Cyrus, the king's ſon, was arrived at Sardis, he went thither to confer with him, and to acquaint him with the treachery of Tiſaphernes. That viceroy had an order to aſſiſt the Lacedaemonians, and to deſtroy the naval force of the Athenians; but, by reaſon of his partiality to Alcibiades, he acted with no vigour, and ſent ſuch poor ſupplies, that the fleet was almoſt ruined. Cyrus was very glad to find this charge againſt Tiſaphernes, knowing him to be a man of bad character in general, and an enemy to him in particular. By this and the reſt of his converſation, but moſt of all by the reſpect and attention which he paid him, Lyſander recommended himſelf to the young prince, and engaged him to proſecute the war. When the Lacedaemonian was going to take his leave, Cyrus deſired him, at an entertainment provided on that occaſion, not to refuſe the marks of his regard, but to aſk ſome favour of him. "As you are ſo very kind to "me," ſaid Lyſander, "I beg you would add an "*Obolus* to the ſeamens pay, ſo that inſtead of three "*Oboli* a day, they may have four." Cyrus, charmed with this generous anſwer, made him a preſent of ten thouſand * pieces of gold. Lyſander employed the money to increaſe the wages of his men, and by this encouragement in a ſhort time almoſt emptied the enemy's ſhips. For great numbers came over to him, when they knew they ſhould have better pay;

* *Darici.*

pay; and thoſe who remained, became indolent and mutinous, and gave their officers continual trouble. But though Lyſander had thus drained and weakened his adverſaries, he was afraid to riſque a naval engagement; knowing Alcibiades not only to be a commander of extraordinary abilities, but to have the advantage in number of ſhips, as well as to have been ſucceſsful in all the battles he had fought whether by ſea or land.

However, when Alcibiades was gone from Samos to Phocae, and had left the command of the fleet to his pilot Antiochus, the pilot, to inſult Lyſander, and ſhew his own bravery, ſailed to the harbour of Epheſus with two galleys only, where he hailed the Lacedaemonian fleet with a great deal of noiſe and laughter, and paſſed by in the moſt inſolent manner imaginable. Lyſander, reſenting the affront, got a few of his ſhips under ſail, and gave chace. But when he ſaw the Athenians come to ſupport Antiochus, he called up more of his galleys, and at laſt the action became general. Lyſander gained the victory, took fifteen ſhips, and erected a trophy. Hereupon, the people of Athens, incenſed at Alcibiades, took the command from him; and, as he found himſelf ſlighted and cenſured by the army at Samos too, he quitted it, and withdrew to Cherſoneſus. This battle, though not conſiderable in itſelf, was made ſo by the misfortunes of Alcibiades.

Lyſander now invited to Epheſus the boldeſt and moſt enterpriſing inhabitants of the Greek cities in Aſia, and ſowed among them the ſeeds of thoſe ariſtocratical forms of government which afterwards took place. He encouraged them to enter into aſſociations, and to turn their thoughts to politics, upon promiſe, that when Athens was once ſubdued, the popular government in their cities too ſhould be diſſolved, and the adminiſtration veſted in them. His actions gave them a confidence in his promiſe. For

thoſe

thoſe who were already attached to him by friendſhip or the rights of hoſpitality, he advanced to the higheſt honours and employments; not ſcrupling to join with them in any act of fraud or oppreſſion, to ſatisfy their avarice and ambition. So that every one endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with Lyſander; to him they paid their court; they fixed their hearts upon him; perſuaded that nothing was too great for them to expect, while he had the management of affairs. Hence it was, that from the firſt they looked with an ill eye on Callicratidas, who ſucceeded him in the command of the fleet: and though they afterwards found him the beſt and moſt upright of men, they were not ſatisfied with his conduct, which they thought had too much of the † Doric plainneſs and ſincerity. It is true, they admired the virtue of Callicratidas, as they would the beauty of ſome hero's ſtatue; but they wanted the countenance, the indulgence and ſupport they had experienced in Lyſander, inſomuch that when he left them, they were quite dejected, and melted into tears.

Indeed, he took every method he could think of, to ſtrengthen their averſion to Callicratidas. He even ſent back to Sardis the remainder of the money, which Cyrus had given him for the ſupply of the fleet, and bade his ſucceſſor, go and aſk for it, as he had done, or contrive ſome other means for the maintenance of his forces. And when he was upon the point of ſailing, he made this declaration, "I "deliver to you a fleet that is miſtreſs of the ſeas." Callicratidas, willing to ſhew the inſolence and vanity of his boaſt, ſaid, "Why do not you then take Sa-"mos on the left, and ſail round to Miletus, and deli-"ver the fleet to me there? for we need not be "afraid of paſſing by our enemies in that iſland, if "we

† Dacier refers this to the Dorian muſic. But the Doric manners had a ſimplicity in them, as well as the muſic.

" we are maſters of the ſeas." Lyſander made only this ſuperficial anſwer, " You have the command of " the ſhips, and not I;" and immediately ſet ſail for Peloponneſus.

Callicratidas was left in great difficulties. For he had not brought money from home with him, nor did he chooſe to raiſe contributions from the cities, which were already diſtreſſed. The only way left, therefore, was to go, as Lyſander had done, and beg it of the king's lieutenants. And no one was more unfit for ſuch an office, than a man of his free and great ſpirit, who thought any loſs that Grecians might ſuſtain from Grecians, preferable to an abject attendance at the doors of Barbarians, who had indeed a great deal of gold, but nothing elſe to boaſt of. Neceſſity, however, forced him into Lydia; where he went directly to the palace of Cyrus, and bade the porters tell him, that Callicratidas the Spartan admiral, deſired to ſpeak with him. " Stranger," ſaid one of the fellows, " Cyrus is not at leiſure; " he is drinking." " 'Tis very well," ſaid Callicratidas with great ſimplicity, " I will wait here 'till he " has done." But when he found that theſe people conſidered him as a ruſtic, and only laughed at him, he went away. He came a ſecond time, and could not gain admittance. And now he could bear it no longer, but returned to Epheſus, venting execrations againſt thoſe who firſt cringed to the Barbarians, and taught them to be inſolent on account of their wealth. At the ſame time he proteſted, that, as ſoon as he was got back to Sparta, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the Grecians among themſelves, and to make them formidable to the Barbarians, inſtead of their poorly petitioning thoſe people for aſſiſtance againſt each other. But this Callicratidas, who had ſentiments ſo worthy of a Spartan, and who, in point of juſtice, magnanimity and valour, was equal to the beſt of the Greeks, fell ſoon after in a ſea-fight at Arginuſae, where he loſt the day.

Affairs

Affairs being now in a declining condition, the confederates ſent an ambaſſy to Sparta, to deſire that the command of the navy might be reſtored to Lyſander, promiſing to ſupport the cauſe with much greater vigour, if he had the direction of it. Cyrus too made the ſame requiſition. But as the law forbade the ſame perſon to be choſen admiral twice, and yet the Lacedaemonians were willing to oblige their allies, they veſted a nominal command in one Aracus, while Lyſander, who was called only lieutenant, had the power. His arrival was very agreeable to thoſe who had, or wanted to have, the chief authority in the Aſiatic cities: for he had long given them hopes, that the democracy would be aboliſhed, and the government devolve entirely upon them.

As for thoſe who loved an open and generous proceeding, when they compared Lyſander and Callicratidas, the former appeared only a man of craft and ſubtlety, who directed his operations by a ſet of artful expedients, and meaſured the value of juſtice by the advantage it brought; who, in ſhort, thought intereſt the thing of ſuperior excellence, and that nature had made no difference between truth and falſehood, but either was recommended by it's uſe. When he was told, it did not become the deſcendants of Hercules to adopt ſuch artful expedients, he turned it off with a jeſt, and ſaid, "Where the "lion's ſkin falls ſhort, it muſt be eked out with "the fox's."

There was a remarkable inſtance of this ſubtlety, in his behaviour at Miletus. His friends and others with whom he had connections there, who had promiſed to aboliſh the popular government, and to drive out all that favoured it, had changed their minds, and reconciled themſelves to their adverſaries. In public he pretended to rejoice at the event, and to cement the union; but in private he loaded them with reproaches, and excited them to attack the commons. However, when he knew the tumult was

begun, he entered the city in haſte, and running up to the leaders of the ſedition, gave them a ſevere reprimand, and threatened to puniſh them in an exemplary manner. At the ſame time, he deſired the people to be perfectly eaſy, and to fear no farther diſturbance, while he was there. In all which he acted only like an artful diſſembler, to hinder the heads of the Plebeian party from quitting the city, and to make ſure of their being put to the ſword there. Accordingly, there was not a man that truſted to his honour, who did not loſe his life.

There is a ſaying too, of Lyſander's, recorded by Androclides, which ſhews the little regard he had for oaths, "Children," he ſaid, "were to be cheated "with cockalls, and men with oaths." In this he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; tho' it ill became a general of an army to imitate a tyrant, and was unworthy of a Lacedaemonian to hold the gods in a more contemptible light than even his enemies. For he who overreaches by a falſe oath, declares that he fears his enemy, but deſpiſes his God.

Cyrus, having ſent for Lyſander to Sardis, preſented him with great ſums, and promiſed more. Nay, to ſhew how high he was in his favour, he went ſo far as to aſſure him, that, if his father would give him nothing, he would ſupply him out of his own fortune; and if every thing elſe failed, he would melt down the very throne on which he ſate when he adminiſtred juſtice, and which was all of maſſy gold and ſilver. And when he went to attend his father in Media, he aſſigned him the tribute of the towns, and put the care of his whole province in his hands. At parting he embraced, and intreated him not to engage the Athenians at ſea before his return, becauſe he intended to bring with him a great fleet out of Phoenicia and Cilicia.

After the departure of the prince, Lyſander did not chooſe to fight the enemy who were not inferior to him in force, nor yet to lie idle with ſuch a number

ber of ſhips, and therefore he cruiſed about and reduced ſome iſlands. Ægina and Salamis he pillaged; and from thence ſailed to Attica, where he waited on Agis, who was come down from Decelea to the coaſt, to ſhew his land-forces what a powerful navy there was, which gave them the command of the ſeas in a manner they could not have expected. Lyſander, however, ſeeing the Athenians in chace of him, ſteered another way back through the iſlands to Aſia. As he found the Helleſpont unguarded, he attacked Lampſacus by ſea, while Thorax made an aſſault upon it by land; in conſequence of which the city was taken, and the plunder given to the troops. In the mean time the Athenian fleet, which conſiſted of an hundred and twenty ſhips, had advanced to Eleus a city in the Cherſoneſus. There getting intelligence that Lampſacus was loſt, they ſailed immediately to Seſtos; where they took in proviſions, and then proceeded to Ægos Potamos. They were now juſt oppoſite the enemy, who ſtill lay at anchor near Lampſacus. The Athenians were under the command of ſeveral officers, among whom Philocles was one; the ſame who had perſuaded the people to make a decree that the priſoners of war ſhould have their right thumbs cut off, that they might be diſabled from handling a pike, but ſtill be ſerviceable at the oar.

For the preſent they all went to reſt, in hopes of coming to an action next day. But Lyſander had another deſign. He commanded the ſeamen and pilots to go on board, as if he intended to fight at break of day. Theſe were to wait in ſilence for orders, the land-forces were to form on the ſhore, and watch the ſignal. At ſun-riſe the Athenians drew up in a line directly before the Lacedaemonians, and gave the challenge. Lyſander, though he had manned his ſhips over night, and ſtood facing the enemy, did not accept of it. On the contrary, he ſent orders by his pinnaces to thoſe ſhips that were

in the van not to ſtir, but to keep the line without making the leaſt motion. In the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not ſuffer one man to land, 'till two or three gallies which he had ſent to look out, returned with an account that the enemy were diſembarked. Next morning they ranged themſelves in the ſame manner, and the like was practiſed a day or two longer. This made the Athenians very confident; they conſidered the adverſaries as a daſtardly ſet of men, who durſt not quit their ſtation.

Mean while, Alcibiades, who lived in a caſtle of his own in the Cherſoneſus, rode to the Athenian camp, and repreſented to the generals two material errors, they had committed. The firſt was, that they had ſtationed their ſhips near a dangerous and naked ſhore: the other, that they were ſo far from Seſtos, from whence they were forced to fetch all their proviſions. He told them, it was their buſineſs to ſail to the port of Seſtos without loſs of time; where they would be at a greater diſtance from the enemy, who were watching their opportunity with an army commanded by one man, and ſo well diſciplined, that they would execute his orders upon the leaſt ſignal. Theſe were the leſſons he gave them, but they did not regard him. Nay, Tydeus ſaid with an air of comtempt, "You are not general "now, but we." Alcibiades even ſuſpected ſome treachery, and therefore withdrew.

On the fifth day, when the Athenians had offered battle, they returned, as uſual in a careleſs and diſdainful manner. Upon this, Lyſander detached ſome gallies to obſerve them; and ordered the officers, as ſoon as they ſaw the Athenians landed, to ſail back as faſt as poſſible; and when they were come half way, to lift up a brazen ſhield at the head of each ſhip, as a ſignal for him to advance. He then ſailed through all the line, and gave inſtructions to the captains and pilots to have all their men in good

good order, as well mariners as ſoldiers; and, when the ſignal was given, to puſh forward with the utmoſt vigour againſt the enemy. As ſoon, therefore, as the ſignal appeared, the trumpet ſounded in the admiral galley, the ſhips began to move on, and the land forces haſtened along the ſhore to ſeize the promontory. The ſpace between the two continents, in that place, is fifteen furlongs, which was ſoon overſhot by the diligence and ſpirit of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the firſt that deſcried them from land, and haſtened to get his men on board. Senſible of the impending danger, ſome he commanded, ſome he intreated, and others he forced into the ſhips. But all his endeavours were in vain. His men not in the leaſt expecting a ſurpriſe, were diſperſed up and down, ſome in the market-place, ſome in the fields; ſome were aſleep in their tents, and ſome preparing their dinner. All this was owing to the inexperience of their commanders, which had made them quite regardleſs of what might happen. The ſhouts and the noiſe of the enemy ruſhing on to the attack were now heard, when Conon fled with eight ſhips, and eſcaped to Evagoras king of Cyprus. The Peloponneſians fell upon the reſt, took thoſe that were empty, and diſabled the others, as the Athenians were embarking. Their ſoldiers coming unarmed and in a ſtraggling manner to defend the ſhips periſhed in the attempt, and thoſe that fled were ſlain by that part of the enemy which had landed. Lyſander took three thouſand priſoners, and ſeized the whole fleet, except the ſacred galley called Paralus, and thoſe that eſcaped with Conon. When he had faſtened the captive gallies to his own, and plundered the camp, he returned to Lampſacus, accompanied with flutes and ſongs of triumph. This great action coſt him but little blood; in one hour he put an end to a long and tedious * war, which had been diverſified beyond

* This war had laſted twenty-ſeven years.

all others by an incredible variety of events. This cruel war, which had occaſioned ſo many battles, appeared in ſuch different forms, produced ſuch viciſſitudes of fortune, and deſtroyed more generals than all the wars of Greece put together, was terminated by the conduct and capacity of one man. Some therefore eſteemed it the effect of a divine interpoſition. There were thoſe who ſaid, that the ſtars of Caſtor and Pollux, appeared on each ſide the helm of Lyſander's ſhip, when he firſt ſet out againſt the Athenians. Others thought that a ſtone which, according to the common opinion, fell from Heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. It fell at Ægos Potamos, and was of a prodigious ſize. The people of the Cherſoneſus hold it in great veneration, and ſhew it to this day.* It is ſaid that Anaxagoras had foretold, that one of thoſe bodies which are fixed to the vault of heaven, would one day be looſened by ſome ſhock or convulſion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth. For he taught that the ſtars are not now in the places where they were originally formed; that being of a ſtony ſubſtance and heavy, the light they give is cauſed only by the reflection and refraction of the aether; and that they are carried along, and kept in their orbits, by the rapid motion of the heavens, which, from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were ſeparated from the reſt, hindered them from falling.

But there is another and more probable opinion, which holds, that falling ſtars are not emanations or detached parts of the elementary fire, that go out the moment they are kindled; nor yet a quantity of air burſting out from ſome compreſſion, and taking fire in the upper region; but that they are really heavenly bodies, which from ſome relaxation of the rapidity

* This victory was gained the fourth year of the ninety-third olympiad, four hundred and three years before the birth of Chriſt. And it is pretended that Anaxagoras had delivered his prediction ſixty-two years before the battle. PLIN. xi. 58.

rapidity of their motion, or by ſome irregular concuſſion, are looſened and fall, not ſo much upon the habitable part of the globe, as into the ocean, which is the reaſon that their ſubſtance is ſeldom ſeen.

* Damachus, however, in his treatiſe concerning religion, confirms the opinion of Anaxagoras. He relates, that for ſeventy-five days together, before that ſtone fell, there was ſeen in the heavens, a large body of fire, like an inflamed cloud, not fixed to one place, but carried this way and that with a broken and irregular motion; and that by it's violent agitation ſeveral fiery fragments were forced from it, which were impelled in various directions, and darted with the celerity and brightneſs of ſo many falling ſtars. After this body was fallen in the Cherſoneſus, and the inhabitants, recovered from their terror, aſſembled to ſee it, they could find no inflammable matter, or the leaſt ſign of fire, but a real ſtone, which, though large, was nothing to the ſize of that fiery globe they had ſeen in the ſky, but appeared only as a bit crumbled from it. It is plain, that Damachus muſt have very indulgent readers, if this account of his gains credit. If it is a true one, it abſolutely refutes thoſe who ſay, that this ſtone was nothing but a rock rent by a tempeſt from the top of a mountain, which, after being borne for ſome time in the air by a whirlwind, ſettled in the firſt place where the violence of that abated. Perhaps at laſt, this phaenomenon which continued ſo many days, was a real globe of fire; and when that globe came to diſperſe and draw towards extinction, it might cauſe ſuch a change in the air, and produce ſuch a violent whirlwind, as tore the ſtone from it's native bed, and daſhed it on the plain. But theſe are

* Not Damachus, but Daimachus of Plataeae, a very fabulous writer, and ignorant in the mathematics; in which as well as hiſtory he pretended to great knowledge. STRAB. lib. i.

are diſcuſſions that belong to writings of another nature.

When the three thouſand Athenian priſoners were condemned by the council to die, Lyſander called Philocles one of the generals, and aſked him what puniſhment he thought he deſerved, who had given his citizens ſuch cruel advice with reſpect to the Greeks. Philocles, undiſmayed by his misfortunes, made anſwer, "Do not ſtart a queſtion, where there "is no judge to decide it; but now you are a con-"queror, proceed, as you would have been pro-"ceeded with, had you been conquered." After this, he bathed, and dreſſed himſelf in a rich robe, and then led his countrymen to execution, being the firſt, according to Theophraſtus, who offered his neck to the ax.

Lyſander next viſited the maritime towns, and ordered all the Athenians he found, upon pain of death to repair to Athens. His deſign was, that the crowds he drove into the city, might ſoon occaſion a famine, and ſo prevent the trouble of a long ſiege, which muſt have been the caſe, if proviſions had been plentiful. Whereever he came, he aboliſhed the democratic, and other forms of government, and ſet up a Lacedaemonian governor, called *Harmoſtes*, aſſiſted by ten archons, who were to be drawn from the ſocieties he eſtabliſhed. Theſe changes he made as he ſailed about at his leiſure, not only in the enemy's cities, but in thoſe of his allies, and by this means in a manner engroſſed to himſelf the principality of all Greece. For in appointing governors he had no regard to family or opulence, but choſe them from among his own friends or out of the brotherhoods he had erected, and inveſted them with full power of life and death. He even aſſiſted in perſon at executions, and drove out all that oppoſed his friends and favourites. Thus he gave the Greeks a very indifferent ſpecimen of the Lacedaemonian government.

There-

Therefore, Theopompus,* the comic writer, was under a great miſtake, when he compared the Lacedaemonians to vintners, who at firſt gave Greece a delightful draught of liberty, but afterwards daſhed the wine with vinegar. The draught from the beginning was diſagreeable and bitter; for Lyſander not only took the adminiſtration out of the hands of the people, but compoſed his oligarchies of the boldeſt and moſt factious of the citizens.

When he had diſpatched this buſineſs, which did not take up any long time, he ſent meſſengers to Lacedaemon, with an account that he was returning with two hundred ſhips. He went, however, to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Pauſanias, in expectation of the immediate ſurrender of Athens, But finding that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he croſſed over again to Aſia. There he made the ſame alteration in the government of cities, and ſet up his decemvirate, after having ſacrificed in each city a number of people, and forced others to quit their country. As for the Samians, † he expelled them all, and delivered their towns to the perſons whom they had baniſhed. And when he had taken Seſtos out of the hands of the Athenians, he drove out the Seſtians too, and divided both the city and territory among his pilots and boatſwains. This was the firſt ſtep of his which the Lacedaemonians diſapproved: they annulled what he had done, and reſtored the Seſtians to their country. But in other reſpects the Grecians were well ſatisfied with Lyſander's conduct. They ſaw with pleaſure the Æginetae recovering their city, of which they had long been diſpoſſeſſed, and the Melians and Scionaeans re-

* Muretus ſhews from a paſſage in Theodorus Metochites, that we ſhould read here *Theopompus the hiſtorian*, inſtead of *Theopompus the comic writer*.

† Theſe things did not happen in the order they are here related. Samos was not taken 'till a conſiderable time after the long walls of Athens were demoliſhed. XENOPH. Hellen. II.

re-eſtabliſhed by him, while the Athenians were driven out, and gave up their claims.

By this time, he was informed that Athens was greatly diſtreſſed with famine; upon which he ſailed to the Piraeus, and obliged the city to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Lacedaemonians ſay, that Lyſander wrote an account of it to the Ephori in theſe words, "Athens is taken;" to which they returned this anſwer, "If it is taken, that is ſufficient." But this was only an invention to make the matter look more plauſible. The real decree of the Ephori ran thus: "The Lacedaemonians have come to theſe reſolu-"tions. You ſhall pull down the Piraeus and the "long walls; quit all the cities you are poſſeſſed of, "and keep within the bounds of Attica. On theſe "conditions you ſhall have peace, provided you pay "what is reaſonable, and * reſtore the exiles. As "for the number of ſhips you are to keep, you "muſt comply with the orders we ſhall give you."

The Athenians ſubmitted to this decree, upon the advice of Theramenes the ſon of † Ancon. On this occaſion, we are told, Cleomenes, one of the young orators, thus addreſſed him, "Dare you go contrary "to the ſentiments of Themiſtocles, by delivering "up thoſe walls to the Lacedaemonians, which he "built in defiance of them?" Theramenes anſwered, "Young man, I do not in the leaſt counteract "the intention of Themiſtocles; for he built the "walls for the preſervation of the citizens, and we "for the ſame purpoſe demoliſh them. If walls "only could make a city happy and ſecure, Sparta, "which has none, would be the unhappieſt in the "world."

ter

* The Lacedaemonians knew that if the Athenian exiles were reſtored, they would be friends and partizans of theirs; and if they were not reſtored, they ſhould have a pretext for diſtreſſing the Athenians when they pleaſed.

† Or Agnon.

After Lyſander had taken from the Athenians all their ſhips, except twelve, and their fortifications were delivered up to him, he entered their city on the ſixteenth of the month Munychion (April;) the very day they had overthrown the barbarians in the naval fight at Salamis. He preſently ſet himſelf to change their form of government: and finding that the people reſented his propoſal, he told them, "that "they had violated the terms of their capitulation; "for their walls were ſtill ſtanding, after the time "fixed for the demoliſhing of them was paſt; and "that, ſince they had broken the firſt articles, they "muſt expect new ones from the council." Some ſay, he really did propoſe in the council of the allies, to reduce the Athenians to ſlavery; and that Erianthus, a Theban officer, gave it as his opinion, that the city ſhould be levelled with the ground, and the ſpot on which it ſtood, turned to paſturage.

Afterwards, however, when the general officers met at an entertainment, a muſician of Phocis happened to begin a *chorus* in the electra of Euripides, the firſt lines of which are theſe---

Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides,
Thy ſtraw-crown'd palace I approach.

The whole company were greatly moved at this incident, and could not help reflecting, how barbarous a thing it would be to raze that noble city, which had produced ſo many great and illuſtrious men. Lyſander, however, finding the Athenians entirely in his power, collected the muſicians in the city, and having joined to them the band belonging to the camp, pulled down the walls, and burned the ſhips, to the ſound of their inſtruments; while the confederates, crowned with flowers, danced, and hailed the day as the firſt of their liberty.

Immediately after this, he changed the form of their government, appointing thirty archons in the city, and ten in the Piraeus, and placing a garriſon in

in the citadel, the command of which he gave to a Spartan, named Callibius. This Callibius, on ſome occaſion or other, lifted up his ſtaff to ſtrike Autolycus, a wreſtler whom Xenophon has mentioned in his *ſymposiacs*; upon which, Autolycus ſeized him by the legs, and threw him upon the ground. Lyſander, inſtead of reſenting this, told Callibius, by way of reprimand, "he knew not they were freemen, "whom he had to govern." The thirty tyrants, however, in complaiſance to Callibius, ſoon after put Autolycus to death.

* Lyſander, when he had ſettled theſe affairs, ſailed to Thrace †. As for the money that remained in his coffers, the crowns and other preſents, which were many and very conſiderable, as may well be imagined, ſince his power was ſo extenſive, and he was in a manner maſter of all Greece, he ſent them to Lacedaemon by Gylippus, who had the chief command in Sicily. Gylippus, they tell us, opened the bags at the bottom, and took a conſiderable ſum out of each, and then ſewed them up again; but he was not aware that in every bag there was a note which gave account of the ſum it contained. As ſoon as he arrived at Sparta, he hid the money he had taken out, under the tiles of his houſe, and then delivered the bags to the Ephori, with the ſeals entire. They opened them, and counted the money, but found that the ſums differed from the bills. At this they were not a little embarraſſed, 'till a ſervant of Gylippus told them enigmatically, "a great number of "owls

* Xenophon ſays, he went now againſt Samos.

† Plutarch ſhould have mentioned in this place the conqueſt of the iſle of Thaſos, and in what a cruel manner Lyſander, contrary to his ſolemn promiſe, maſſacred ſuch of the inhabitants as had been in the intereſt of Athens. This is related by Polyaenus. But as Plutarch tells us afterwards that he behaved in this manner to the Mileſians, perhaps the ſtory is the ſame, and there may be a miſtake only in the names.

" owls roofted in the ‡ Ceramicus." Moſt of the coin then bore the impreſſion of an owl, in reſpect to the Athenians.

Gylippus, having ſullied his former great and glorious actions by ſo baſe and unworthy a deed, quitted Lacedaemon. On this occaſion in particular, the wiſeſt among the Spartans obſerved the influence of money, which could corrupt not only the meaneſt, but the moſt reſpectable citizens, and therefore were very warm in their reflections upon Lyſander for introducing it. They inſiſted too, that the Ephori ſhould ſend out all the ſilver and gold, as evils deſtructive in the proportion they were alluring.

In purſuance of this, a council was called, and a decree propoſed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or, according to Ephorus, by Phlogidas, " that no coin, whether of gold or ſilver, ſhould be " admitted into Sparta, but that they ſhould uſe the " money that had long obtained." This money was of iron, dipped in vinegar, while it was red hot, to make it brittle and unmalleable, ſo that it might not be applied to any other uſe. Beſides, it was heavy, and difficult of carriage, and a great quantity of it was but of little value. Perhaps, all the ancient money was of this kind, and conſiſted either of pieces of iron or braſs, which from their form were called *Obeliſci*; whence we have ſtill a quantity of ſmall money called *Obali*, ſix of which make a *Drachma* or *Handful*, that being as much as the hand can contain.

The motion for ſending out the money was oppoſed by Lyſander's party, and they procured a decree, that it ſhould be conſidered as the public treaſure, and that it ſhould be a capital crime to convert any of it to private uſes. As if Lycurgus had been afraid of the money, and not of the avarice it produces.

‡ Ceramicus was the name of a place in Athens. It likewiſe ſignifies the tiling of a houſe.

duces. And avarice was not ſo much prevented by forbidding the uſe of money in the occaſions of private perſons, as it was encouraged by allowing it in the public; for that added dignity to it's uſe, and excited ſtrong deſires for it's acquiſition. Indeed, it was not to be imagined, that while it was valued in public, it would be deſpiſed in private, or that what they found ſo advantageous to the ſtate, ſhould be looked upon of no concern to themſelves. On the contrary, it is plain, that cuſtoms depending upon national inſtitutions, much ſooner affect the lives and manners of individuals, than the errors and vices of individuals corrupt a whole nation. For, when the whole is diſtempered, the parts muſt be affected too; but when the diſorder ſubſiſts only in ſome particular parts, it may be corrected and remedied by thoſe that have not yet received the infection. So that theſe magiſtrates, while they ſet guards, I mean law and fear of puniſhment, at the doors of the citizens, to hinder the enterance of money, did not keep their minds untainted with the love of it: they rather inſpired that love, by exhibiting wealth as a great and admirable thing. But we have cenſured this conduct of theirs in another place.

Lyſander, out of the ſpoils he had taken, erected at Delphi his own ſtatue, and thoſe of his officers, in braſs: he alſo dedicated in gold the ſtars of Caſtor and Pollux, which * diſappeared before the battle of Leuctra. The galley † made of gold and ivory, which Cyrus ſent in congratulation of his victory, and which was two cubits long, was placed in the treaſury of Braſidas and the Acanthians. ‡ Alexandrides

* They were ſtolen. Plutarch mentions it as an omen of the dreadful loſs the Spartans were to ſuffer in that battle.

† So Ariſtobulus, the Jewiſh prince, preſented Pompey with a golden vineyard or garden, valued at five hundred talents. That vineyard was conſecrated in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, as this galley was at Delphi.

‡ This Alexandrides, or rather Anaxandrides, wrote an account of the offerings ſtolen from the temple at Delphi.

drides of Delphi writes, that Lyſander depoſited there a talent of ſilver, fifty-two *Minae*, and eleven *Staters:* but this is not agreeable to the accounts of his poverty we have from all hiſtorians.

Though Lyſander had now attained to greater power than any Grecian before him, yet the pride and loftineſs of his heart exceeded it. For he was the firſt of the Grecians, according to Duris, to whom altars were erected by ſeveral cities, and ſacrifices offered, as to § a god. To Lyſander too hymns were firſt ſung, one of which began thus---

To the fam'd leader of the Grecian bands,
From Sparta's ample plains! ſing io paean!

Nay, the Samians decreed that the feaſts which they had uſed to celebrate in honour of Juno, ſhould be called the feaſts of Lyſander. He always kept the Spartan poet ‖ Choerilus in his retinue, that he might be ready to add luſtre to his actions by the powers of verſe. And when Antilochus had written ſome ſtanzas in his praiſe, he was ſo delighted that he gave him his hat full of ſilver. Antimachus of Colophon, and Niceratus of Heraclea, compoſed each a panegyric that bore his name, and conteſted in form for the prize. He adjudged the crown to Niceratus, at which

§ What incenſe the meanneſs of human nature can offer to one of their own ſpecies! nay, to one who having no regard to honour or virtue, ſcarce deſerved the name of a man! The Samians worſhipped him, as the Indians do the devil, that he might do them no more hurt; that after one dreadful ſacrifice to his cruelty, he might ſeek no more.

‖ There were three poets of this name, but their works are all loſt. The firſt, who was of Samos, ſung the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes. He flouriſhed about the ſeventy-fifth olympiad. The ſecond was this Choerilus of Sparta, who flouriſhed about ſeventy years after the firſt. The third was he who attended Alexander the great, above ſeventy years after the time of Lyſander's Choerilus.

which * Antimachus was ſo much offended, that he ſuppreſſed his poem. Plato, who was then very young, and a great admirer of Antimachus's poetry, addreſſed him while under this chagrin, and told him by way of conſolation, "That the ignorant are ſuf-"ferers by their ignorance, as the blind are by their "want of ſight." Ariſtonous, the lyriſt, who had ſix times won the prize at the Pythian games, to pay his court to Lyſander, promiſed him, that if he was once more victorious, he would declare himſelf Lyſander's retainer, or even his ſlave.

Lyſander's ambition was a burthen only to the great, and to perſons of equal rank with himſelf. But that arrogance and violence which grew into his temper along with his ambition, from the flatteries with which he was beſieged, had a more extenſive influence. He ſet no moderate bounds either to his favour or reſentment. Governments unlimited and unexamined, were the rewards of any friendſhip or hoſpitality he had experienced, and the ſole puniſhment that could appeaſe his anger, was the death of his enemy: nor was there any way to eſcape.

There was an inſtance of this at Miletus. He was afraid that the leaders of the plebeian party there would ſecure themſelves by flight; therefore, to draw them from their retreats, he took an oath, not to do any of them the leaſt injury. They truſted him, and made their appearance; but he immediately delivered them to the oppoſite party, and they were put to death, to the number of eight hundred. Infinite were the cruelties he exerciſed in every city, againſt thoſe who were ſuſpected of any inclination to popular government. For he not only conſulted his own paſſions, and gratified his own revenge, but co-operated, in this reſpect, with the reſentments and avarice of all his friends. Hence it was, that the ſaying

* According to others, he was of Claros. He was reckoned next to Homer in heroic poetry. But ſome thought him too pompous and verboſe.

ſaying of Eteocles the Lacedaemonian was reckoned a good one, "That Greece could not bear two Ly-"ſanders." Theophraſtus, indeed, tells us, that † Archiſtratus had ſaid the ſame thing of Alcibiades. But inſolence, luxury and vanity, were the moſt diſagreeable part of his character; whereas Lyſander's power was attended with a cruelty and ſavageneſs of manners, that rendered it inſupportable.

There were many complaints againſt him, which the Lacedaemonians paid no regard to. However, when Pharnabazus ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to repreſent the injury he had received from the depredations committed in his province, the Ephori were incenſed, and put Thorax, one of his friends and collegues, to death, having found ſilver in his poſſeſſion, contrary to the late law. They likewiſe ordered Lyſander home by their *Scytale*; the nature and uſe of which was this: Whenever the magiſtrates ſent out an admiral or a general, they prepared two round pieces of wood with ſo much exactneſs, that they were perfectly equal both in length and thickneſs. One of theſe they kept themſelves, the other was delivered to the officer then employed. Theſe pieces of wood were called *Scytalae.* When they had any ſecret and important orders to convey to him, they took a long narrow ſcroll of parchment, and rolled it about their own ſtaff, one fold cloſe to another, and then wrote their buſineſs on it. This done, they took off the ſcroll, and ſent it to the general. As ſoon as he received it, he applied it to his ſtaff, which being juſt like that of the magiſtrates, all the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing: and though before, the characters were ſo broken and disjointed, that nothing could be made of them, they now became plain and legible. The parchment, as well as the ſtaff, is called *Scy-*

† It ſhould be read Archeſtratus.

tale, as the thing meaſured bears the name of the meaſure.

Lyſander, who was then in the Helleſpont, was much alarmed at the *Scytale*. Pharnabazus being the perſon whoſe impeachment he moſt dreaded, he haſtened to an interview with him, in hopes of being able to compoſe their differences. When they met, he deſired him to ſend another account to the magiſtrates, ſignifying that he neither had nor made any complaint. He was not aware (as the proverb has it) that "he was playing the Cretan with a Cretan." Pharnabazus promiſed to comply with his requeſt, and wrote a letter in his preſence agreeable to his directions, but had contrived to have another by him, to a quite contrary effect. When the letter was to be ſealed, he palmed that upon him which he had written privately, and which exactly reſembled it. Lyſander, upon his arrival at Lacedaemon, went, according to cuſtom, to the ſenate-houſe, and delivered Pharnabazus's letter to the magiſtrates; aſſuring himſelf that the heavieſt charge was removed. For he knew that the Lacedaemonians paid a particular attention to Pharnabazus, becauſe, of all the king's lieutenants, he had done them the greateſt ſervices in the war. When the Ephori had read the letter, they ſhewed it to Lyſander. He now found to his coſt, that "others have art, beſide Ulyſſes," and in great confuſion left the ſenate houſe.

A few days after, he applied to the magiſtrates, and told them, he was obliged to go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and offer the ſacrifices he had vowed before his battles. Some ſay, that when he was beſieging the city of the Aphytaeans in Thrace, Ammon actually appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him to raiſe the ſiege: that he complied with that order, and bade the Aphytaeans ſacrifice to Ammon; and for the ſame reaſon now haſtened to pay his devotions to that deity in Libya. But it was generally believed, that he only uſed the deity as a pretext,

pretext, and that the true reaſon of his retiring was his fear of the Ephori, and his averſion to ſubjection. He choſe rather to wander in foreign countries, than to be controuled at home. His haughty ſpirit was like that of an horſe, which has long ranged the paſtures at liberty, and returns with reluctance to the ſtall, and to his former burthen. As for the reaſon which Ephorus aſſigns for this voyage, I ſhall mention it by and by.

With much difficulty he got leave of the Ephori to depart, and took his voyage. While he was upon it, the kings conſidered that it was by means of the aſſociations he had formed, that he held the cities in ſubjection, and was in effect maſter of all Greece. They reſolved, therefore, to drive out his friends, and reeſtabliſh the popular governments. This occaſioned new commotions. Firſt of all, the Athenians, from the caſtle of * Phyle, attacked the thirty tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this, Lyſander returned, and perſuaded the Lacedaemonians to ſupport the oligarchies, and to chaſtiſe the people; in conſequence of which, they remitted an hundred talents to the tyrants, to enable them to carry on the war, and appointed Lyſander himſelf their general. But the envy with which the Kings were actuated, and their fear that he would take Athens a ſecond time, led them to determine, that one of them ſhould attend the expedition. Accordingly Pauſanias marched into Attica, in appearance to ſupport the thirty tyrants againſt the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, leſt Lyſander, by his intereſt in Athens, ſhould become maſter of it again. This he eaſily effected. By reconciling the Athenians among themſelves, and compoſing the tumults, he clipt the wings of Lyſander's ambition. Yet, as the Athenians revolted ſoon after, Pauſanias was blamed for taking the curb of the oligarchy out

* A caſtle above Athens ſtrongly ſituated. Xenophon often mentions it in the ſecond book of his Grecian hiſtory.

of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and inſolent again. On the contrary, it added to the reputation of Lyſander: he was now conſidered as a man, who took not his meaſures, either through favour or oſtentation, but in all his operations, how ſevere ſoever, kept a ſtrict and ſteady eye upon the intereſts of Sparta.

Lyſander, indeed, had a ferocity in his expreſſions as well as actions, which confounded his adverſaries. When the Argives had a diſpute with him about their boundaries, and thought their plea better than that of the Lacedaemonians, he ſhewed them his ſword, and ſaid, "He that is maſter of this, can beſt plead "about boundaries."

When a citizen of Megara treated him with great freedom in a certain converſation, he ſaid, "My "friend, thoſe words of thine ſhould not come, but "from ſtrong walls and bulwarks."

When the Boeotians heſitated upon ſome propoſitions he made them, he aſked them, "whether he "ſhould trail, or puſh his pikes amongſt them?"

The Corinthians having deſerted the league, he advanced up to their walls, but the Lacedaemonians, he found, were very loth to begin the aſſault. A hare juſt then happening to ſtart out of the trenches, he took occaſion to ſay, "Are not you aſhamed to "dread thoſe enemies, who are ſo idle, that the very "hares ſit in quiet under their walls?"

When king Agis paid the laſt tribute to nature, he left behind him a brother named Ageſilaus, and a reputed ſon named Leotychidas. Lyſander, who had regarded Ageſilaus with an extraordinary affection, perſuaded him to lay claim to the crown, as a genuine deſcendant of Hercules: whereas Leotychidas was ſuſpected to be the ſon of Alcibiades, and the fruit of a private commerce which he had with Timaea the wife of Agis, during his exile in Sparta. Agis, they tell us, from his computation of the time, concluded that the child was not his, and therefore took

took no notice of Leotychidas, but rather openly diſavowed him through the whole courſe of his life. However, when he fell ſick, and was carried to * Heraea, he was prevailed upon by the intreaties of the youth himſelf, and of his friends, before he died, to declare before many witneſſes that Leotychidas was his lawful ſon. At the ſame time, he deſired all perſons preſent to teſtify theſe his laſt words to the Lacedaemonians, and then immediately expired.

Accordingly, they gave their teſtimony in favour of Leotychidas. As for Ageſilaus, he was a man of uncommon merit, and ſupported beſides by the intereſt of Lyſander, but his affairs were near being ruined by Diopithes, a famous interpreter of oracles, who applied this prophecy to his lameneſs---

Beware, proud Sparta, leſt a † maimed empire
Thy boaſted ſtrength impair; far other woes
Than thou behold'ſt, await thee---borne away
By the ſtrong tide of war.---

Many believed this interpretation, and were turning to Leotychidas. But Lyſander obſerved, that Diopithes had miſtaken the ſenſe of the oracle; for that the deity did not give himſelf any concern about their being governed by a lame king, but meant that their government would be lame, if ſpurious perſons ſhould wear the crown amongſt the race of Hercules. Thus, partly by his addreſs, and partly by his intereſt, he prevailed upon them to give the preference to Ageſilaus, and he was declared king.

* Xenophon (l. ii.) tells us that Agis fell ſick at Heraea a city of Arcadia, on his way from Delphi, and that he was carried to Sparta and died there.

† The oracle conſidered the two kings of Sparta, as it's two legs, the ſupports of it's freedom; which in fact they were by being a check upon each other. The Lacedaemonians were, therefore, admoniſhed to beware of a *lame government*, of having their republick converted into a monarchy; which indeed proved their ruin at laſt. Vide JUSTIN. l. vi.

Lyſander immediately preſſed him to carry the war into Aſia, encouraging him with the hope of deſtroying the Perſian monarchy, and becoming himſelf the greateſt of mankind. He likewiſe ſent inſtructions to his friends in Aſia, to petition the Lacedaemonians, to give Ageſilaus the conduct of the war againſt the Barbarians. They complied with his order, and ſent ambaſſadors to Lacedaemon for that purpoſe. Indeed, this command which Lyſander procured Ageſilaus, ſeems to have been an honour equal to the crown itſelf. But ambitious ſpirits, though in other reſpects not unfit for affairs of ſtate, are hindered from many great actions, by the envy they bear their fellow-candidates for fame. For thus they make thoſe their adverſaries, who would otherwiſe have been their aſſiſtants in the courſe of glory.

Ageſilaus took Lyſander with him, made him one of his thirty counſellors, and gave him the firſt rank in his friendſhip. But when they came into Aſia, Ageſilaus found, that the people, being unacquainted with him, ſeldom applied to him, and were very ſhort in their addreſſes; whereas Lyſander, whom they had long known, had them always at his gates or in his train, ſome attending out of friendſhip, and others out of fear. Juſt as it happens in tragedies, that a principal actor repreſents a meſſenger or a ſervant, and is admired in that character, while he who bears the diadem and ſceptre, is hardly liſtened to when he ſpeaks; ſo in this caſe the counſellor engroſſed all the honour, and the king had the title of commander without the power.

Doubtleſs this unſeaſonable ambition of Lyſander deſerved correction, and he was to be made to know that the ſecond place only belonged to him. But entirely to caſt off a friend and benefactor, and, from a jealouſy of honour, to expoſe him to ſcorn, was a ſtep unworthy the character of Ageſilaus. He began with taking buſineſs out of his hands, and making it a point not to employ him on any occaſion where

where he might diſtinguiſh himſelf. In the next place, thoſe for whom Lyſander intereſted himſelf, were ſure to miſcarry, and to meet with leſs indulgence than others of the meaneſt ſtation. Thus the king gradually undermined his power.

When Lyſander found that he failed in all his applications, and that his kindneſs was only an hinderance to his friends, he deſired them to forbear their addreſſes to him, and to wait only upon the king, or the preſent diſpenſers of his favours. In conſequence of this, they gave him no farther trouble about buſineſs, but ſtill continued their attentions, and joined him in the public walks and other places of reſort. This gave Ageſilaus more pain than ever, and his envy and jealouſy continually increaſed; inſomuch that while he gave commands and governments to common ſoldiers, he appointed Lyſander his carver. Then, to inſult the Ionians, he bade them "go and "make their court to his carver."

Hereupon, Lyſander determined to come to an explanation with him, and their diſcourſe was very laconic. "Truly, Ageſilaus, you know very well "how to tread upon your friends." "Yes," ſaid he, "when they want to be greater than myſelf. It "is but fit that thoſe who are willing to advance my "power, ſhould ſhare it." "Perhaps," ſaid Lyſander, "this is rather what you ſay, than what I "did. I beg of you, however, for the ſake of "ſtrangers who have their eyes upon us, that you "will put me in ſome poſt, where I may be leaſt obnoxious, and moſt uſeful to you."

Agreeably to this requeſt, the lieutenancy of the Helleſpont was granted him; and though he ſtill retained his reſentment againſt Ageſilaus, he did not neglect his duty. He found * Spithridates, a Perſian

* So Xenophon calls him, not Mithridates, the common reading in Plutarch. Indeed, ſome manuſcripts have it Spithridates in the life of Ageſilaus.

ſian remarkable for his valour, and with an army at his command, at variance with Pharnabazus, and perſuaded him to revolt to Ageſilaus. This was the only ſervice he was employed upon; and when this commiſſion was expired, he returned to Sparta in great diſgrace, highly incenſed againſt Ageſilaus, and more diſpleaſed than ever with the whole frame of government. He reſolved, therefore, now, without any farther loſs of time, to bring about the change he had long meditated in the conſtitution.

When the Heraclidae mixed with the Dorians, and ſettled in Peloponneſus, there was a large and flouriſhing tribe of them at Sparta. The whole, however, were not entitled to the regal ſucceſſion, but only two families, the Eurytionidae and the Agidae; while the reſt had no ſhare in the adminiſtration on account of their high birth. For as to the common rewards of virtue, they were open to all men of diſtinguiſhed merit. Lyſander, who was of this lineage, no ſooner ſaw himſelf exalted by his great actions, and ſupported with friends and power, but he became uneaſy to think that a city which owed its grandeur to him, ſhould be ruled by others no better deſcended than himſelf. Hence he entertained a deſign to alter the ſettlement which confined the ſucceſſion to two families only, and to lay it open to all the Heraclidae. Some ſay, his intention was to extend this high honour not only to all the Heraclidae, but to all the citizens of Sparta; that it might not ſo much belong to the poſterity of Hercules, as to thoſe who reſembled Hercules in that virtue which numbered him with the gods. He hoped too, that when the crown was ſettled in this manner, no Spartan would have better pretenſions than himſelf.

At firſt he prepared to draw the citizens into his ſcheme, and committed to memory an oration written by Cleon of Halicarnaſſus for that purpoſe. But he ſoon ſaw that ſo great and difficult a reformation required bolder and more extraordinary methods to bring

bring it to bear. And as in tragedy machinery is made uſe of, where more natural means will not do, ſo he reſolved to ſtrike the people with oracles and prophecies; well knowing that the eloquence of Cleon would avail but little, unleſs he firſt ſubdued their minds with divine ſanctions and the terrors of ſuperſtition. Ephorus tells us, he firſt attempted to corrupt the prieſteſs of Delphi, and afterwards thoſe of Dodona by means of one Pherecles; and having no ſucceſs in either application, he went himſelf to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the prieſts large ſums of gold. They too rejected his offers with indignation, and ſent deputies to Sparta to accuſe him of that crime. When theſe Libyans found he was acquitted, they took their leave of the Spartans in this manner---"We will paſs better judgments, "when you come to live among us in Libya." It ſeems, there was an ancient prophecy, that the Lacedaemonians would ſome time or other ſettle in Africa. This whole ſcheme of Lyſander's was of no ordinary texture, nor took it's riſe from accidental circumſtances, but was laid deep, and conducted with uncommon art and addreſs: ſo that it may be compared to a mathematical demonſtration, in which, from ſome principles firſt aſſumed, the concluſion is deducted through a variety of abſtruſe and intricate ſteps. We ſhall, therefore, explain it at large, taking Ephorus, who was both an hiſtorian and philoſopher, for our guide.

There was a woman in Pontus, who gave it out that ſhe was pregnant by Apollo. Many rejected her aſſertion, and many believed it. So that when ſhe was delivered of a ſon, ſeveral perſons of the greateſt eminence took particular care of his education, and for ſome reaſon or other gave him the name of Sylenus. Lyſander took this miraculous birth for a foundation, and raiſed all his building upon it. He made choice of ſuch aſſiſtants, as might bring the ſtory into reputation, and put it beyond ſuſpicion. Then

Then he got another ſtory propogated at Delphi and ſpread at Sparta, "That certain ancient oracles were "kept in the private regiſters of the prieſts, which it "was not lawful to touch or to look upon, 'till in "ſome future age a perſon ſhould ariſe, who could "clearly prove himſelf the ſon of Apollo, and he "was to interpret and publiſh thoſe oracles." The way thus prepared, Silenus was to make his appearance, as the ſon of Apollo, and demand the oracles. The prieſts, who were in combination, were to enquire into every article, and examine him ſtrictly as to his birth. At laſt they were to pretend to be convinced of his divine parentage, and to ſhew him the books. Silenus then was to read in public all thoſe prophecies, particularly that for which the whole deſign was ſet on foot; namely, "That it would be "more for the honour and intereſt of Sparta to ſet "aſide the preſent race of kings, and chooſe others "out of the beſt and moſt worthy men in the com-"monwealth." But when Silenus was grown up, and came to undertake his part, Lyſander had the mortification to ſee his piece miſcarry by the cowardice of one of the actors, whoſe heart failed him juſt as the thing was going to be put in execution. However nothing of this was diſcovered, while Lyſander lived.

He died before Ageſilaus returned from Aſia, after he had engaged his country, or rather involved all Greece, in the Boeotian war. It is indeed related variouſly, ſome laying the blame upon him, ſome upon the Thebans, and others upon both. Thoſe who charge the Thebans with it, ſay, they overturned the altar, and prophaned * the ſacrifice Ageſilaus was offering

* Beſide this affair of the ſacrifice, the Lacedaemonians were offended at the Thebans, for their claiming the tenths of the treaſure taken at Decelea; as well as for refuſing to attend them in their expedition againſt the Piraeus, and diſſuading the Corinthians from joining in that enterpriſe. Indeed, the Thebans began to be jealous

offering at Aulis; and that Androclides and Amphitheus, being corrupted with Perſian money†, attacked the Phocians, and laid waſte their country, in order to draw upon the Lacedaemonians the Grecian war. On the other hand, they who make Lyſander the author of the war, inform us, he was highly diſpleaſed, that the Thebans only, of all the confederates, ſhould claim the tenth of the Athenian ſpoils taken at Decelea, and complain of his ſending the money to Sparta. But what he moſt reſented, was, their putting the Athenians in a way of delivering themſelves from the thirty tyrants, whom he had ſet up. The Lacedaemonians to ſtrengthen the hands of thoſe tyrants, and make them more formidable, had decreed, "That if any Athenian fled out of the "city, he ſhould be apprehended, whereever he was "found, and obliged to return; and that whoever "oppoſed the taking ſuch fugitives, ſhould be treated "as enemies to Sparta." The Thebans on that occaſion gave out orders, that deſerve to be enrolled with the actions of Hercules and Bacchus. They cauſed proclamation to be made, "That every houſe "and city ſhould be open to ſuch Athenians as de-"ſired protection; that whoever refuſed aſſiſtance "to a fugitive that was ſeized, ſhould be fined a "talent; and that if any one ſhould carry arms "through

jealous of the growing power of the Lacedaemonians, and did not want to ſee the Athenians, whoſe weight had been conſiderable in the balance of power, entirely ruined. XENOPH. Gr. hiſt. l. iii.

† Theſe were not the only perſons who had taken the Perſian money. Tithrauſtes, alarmed at the progreſs Ageſilaus was making in Aſia, ſent Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents to be diſtributed among the leading men in the ſtates of Greece. Thoſe of Corinth and Argos had their ſhare as well as the Thebans. In conſequence of this the Thebans perſuaded the Locrians to pillage a tract of land that was in diſpute between the Phocians and the Thebans. The Phocians made repriſals. The Thebans ſupported the Locrians. Whereupon the Phocians applied to the Spartans, and the war became general.

" through Boeotia againſt the Athenian tyrants, he " ſhould not meet with the leaſt moleſtation." Nor were their actions unſuitable to theſe decrees ſo humane, and ſo worthy of Grecians. When Thraſybulus and his company ſeized the caſtle of Phyle, and laid the plan of their other operations, it was from Thebes they ſet out; and the Thebans not only ſupplied them with arms and money, but gave them a kind reception and every encouragement. Theſe were the grounds of Lyſander's reſentment againſt them.

He was naturally prone to anger, and the melancholy that grew upon him with years, made him ſtill more ſo. He therefore importuned the *Ephori* to ſend him againſt the Thebans. Accordingly he was employed, and marched out at the head of one army, and Pauſanias was ſoon ſent after him with another. Pauſanias took a circuit by mount Cithaeron, to enter Boeotia, and Lyſander went through Phocis with a very conſiderable force to meet him. The city of Orchomenus was ſurrendered to him, as he was upon his march, and he took Lebadia by ſtorm, and plundered it. From thence he ſent letters to Pauſanias, to deſire him to remove from Plataeae, and join him at Haliartus; for he intended to be there himſelf by break of day. But the meſſenger was taken by a Theban reconnoitring party, and the letters were carried to Thebes. Hereupon, the Thebans entruſted their city with a body of Athenian auxiliaries, and marched out themſelves about midnight for Haliartus. They reached the town a little before Lyſander, and entered it with part of their forces. Lyſander at firſt thought proper to encamp upon an eminence, and wait for Pauſanias. But when the day began to decline, he grew impatient, and ordered the Lacedaemonians and confederates to arm. Then he led out his troops in a direct line along the high road up to the walls. The Thebans who remained without,

without, taking the city on the left, fell upon his rear, at the fountain called Ciſſuſa.*

It is fabled that the nurſes of Bacchus waſhed him in this fountain immediately after his birth. The water is, indeed, of a bright and ſhining colour like wine, and a moſt agreeable taſte. Not far off grow the Cretan † canes of which javelins are made; by which the Haliartians would prove that Rhadamanthus dwelt there. Beſides, they ſhew his tomb, which they call Alea. The monument of Alcmena too is near that place; and nothing, they ſay, can be more probable than that ſhe was buried there, becauſe ſhe married Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death.

The other Thebans, who had entered the city, drew up with the Haliartians, and ſtood ſtill for ſome time. But when they ſaw Lyſander with his vanguard approaching the walls, they ruſhed out at the gates, and killed him, with a diviner by his ſide, and ſome few more; for the greateſt part retired as faſt as poſſible to the main body. The Thebans purſued their advantage, and preſſed upon them with ſo much ardour, that they were ſoon put to the rout, and fled to the hills. Their loſs amounted to a thouſand, and that of the Thebans to three hundred. The latter loſt their lives by chacing the enemy into craggy and dangerous aſcents. Theſe three hundred had been accuſed of favouring the Lacedaemonians; and being determined to wipe off that ſtain, they purſued with a raſhneſs which proved fatal to themſelves.

Pauſa-

* The name of this fountain ſhould probably be corrected from Pauſanias and Strabo, and read *Tilphuſa* or *Tilphoſa*.

† Strabo tells us Haliartus was deſtroyed by the Romans in the war with Perſeus. He alſo mentions a lake near it, which produced canes or reeds, not for ſhafts of javelins, but for pipes or flutes. Plutarch too mentions the latter uſe in the life of Sylla.

Pauſanias received the news of this misfortune, as he was upon his march from Plataeae to Theſpiae, and he continued his rout in good order to Haliartus. Thraſybulus likewiſe brought up his Athenians thither from Thebes. Pauſanias wanted a truce, that he might article for the dead: but the older Spartans could not think of it without indignation. They went to him, and declared, "that they would never "recover the body of Lyſander by truce, but by "arms; that, if they conquered, they ſhould bring "it off, and bury it with honour, and if they were "worſted, they ſhould fall glorioufly upon the ſame "ſpot with their commander." Notwithſtanding theſe repreſentations of the veterans, Pauſanias ſaw it would be very difficult to beat the Thebans now flufhed with victory; and that even if he ſhould have the advantage, he could hardly without a truce carry off the body which lay ſo near the walls. He therefore ſent an herald who ſettled the conditions, and then retired with his army. As ſoon as they were got out of the confines of Boeotia, they interred Lyſander in the territories of the Penopaeans, which was the firſt ground belonging to their friends and confederates. His monument ſtill remains, by the road from Delphi to Chaeronea. While the Lacedaemonians had their quarters there, it is reported that a certain Phocian, who was giving an account of the action to a friend of his that was not in it, ſaid, "the enemy fell upon them, juſt after Lyſander had "paſſed the Hoplites." While the man ſtood wondering at the account, a Spartan, a friend of Lyſander's, aſked the Phocian what he meant by * *Hoplites*, for he could make nothing of it. "I mean," ſaid he, "the place where the enemy cut down our "firſt ranks. The river that runs by the town is "called

* *Hoplites*, though the name of that river, ſignifies alſo *a heavy-armed ſoldier.*

" called Hoplites." The Spartan, when he heard this, burſt out into tears, and cried out, " How inevi-" table is fate!" It ſeems, Lyſander had received an oracle, couched in theſe terms---

Fly from Hoplites, and the earth-born dragon
That ſtings thee in the rear---------

Some ſay the Hoplites does not run by Haliartus, but is a brook near Coronea, which mixes with the river Phliarus, and runs along to that city. It was formerly called Hoplias, but is now known by the name of Iſomantus. The Haliartian who killed Lyſander, was named Neochorus, and he bore a dragon in his ſhield, which it was ſuppoſed the oracle referred to.

They tell us too, that the city of Thebes, during the Peloponneſian war had an oracle from the Iſmenian Apollo, which foretold the battle at * Delium, and this at Haliartus, though the latter did not happen 'till thirty years after the other. The oracle runs thus---

Beware the confines of the wolf; nor ſpread
Thy ſnares for foxes on th' Orchalian hills.

The country about Delium he calls the confines, becauſe Boeotia there borders upon Attica; and by the Orchalian hill is meant that in particular called † *Alopecus*, on that ſide of Helicon which looks towards Haliartus.

After the death of Lyſander, the Spartans ſo much reſented the whole behaviour of Pauſanias with reſpect to that event, that they ſummoned him to be tried for his life. He did not appear to anſwer that charge,

* The battle of Delium, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans, was fought the firſt year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, four hundred and twentytwo years before Chriſt; and that of Haliartus full twenty nine years after. But it is common for hiſtorians to make uſe of a round number, except in caſes where great preciſion is required.

† That is, *fox-hill.*

charge, but fled to Tegea, and took refuge in Minerva's temple, where he ſpent the reſt of his days as her ſuppliant.

Lyſander's poverty, which was diſcovered after his death, added luſtre to his virtue. It was then found, that notwithſtanding the money which had paſſed through his hands, the authority he had exerciſed over ſo many cities, and indeed the great empire he had been poſſeſſed of, he had not in the leaſt improved his family fortune. This account we have from Theopompus, whom we more eaſily believe when he commends than when he finds fault; for he, as well as many others, was more inclined to cenſure than to praiſe.

Ephorus tells us, that afterwards, upon ſome diſputes between the Confederates and the Spartans, it was thought neceſſary to inſpect the writings of Lyſander, and for that purpoſe Ageſilaus went to his houſe. Among the other papers, he found that political one, calculated to ſhew how proper it would be to take the right of ſucceſſion from the Eurytionidae and Agidae, and to elect kings from among perſons of the greateſt merit. He was going to produce it before the citizens, and to ſhew what the real principles of Lyſander were. But Lacratidas, a man of ſenſe, and the principal of the *Ephori*, kept him from it, by repreſenting, "how wrong it "would be to dig Lyſander out of his grave, when "this oration, which was written in ſo artful and "perſuaſive a manner, ought rather to be buried "with him."

Among the other honours paid to the memory of Lyſander, that which I am going to mention, is none of the leaſt. Some perſons, who had contracted themſelves to his daughters in his life-time, when they found he died poor, fell off from their engagement. The Spartans fined them for courting the alliance while they had riches in view, and breaking off when they diſcovered that poverty which was the

the beſt proof of Lyſander's probity and juſtice. It ſeems, at Sparta there was a law which puniſhed, not only thoſe who continued in a ſtate of celibacy, or married too late, but thoſe that married ill; and it was levelled chiefly at perſons who married into rich, rather than good families. Such are the particulars of Lyſander's life which hiſtory has ſupplied us with.

SYLLA.

LUCIUS Cornelius Sylla was of a Patrician family. One of his anceſtors, named * Rufinus, is ſaid to have been conſul, but to have fallen under a diſgrace more than equivalent to that honour. He was found to have in his poſſeſſion more than ten pounds of plate, which the law did not allow, and for that was expelled the ſenate. Hence it was, that his poſterity continued in a low and obſcure condition; and Sylla himſelf was born to a very ſcanty fortune. Even after he was grown up, he lived in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a ſmall conſideration; and afterwards he was reproached with it, when he was riſen to ſuch opulence as he had no reaſon to expect. For one day as he was boaſting of the great things he had done in Africa, a perſon of character made anſwer, "How canſt "thou be an honeſt man, who art maſter of ſuch a "fortune,

* Publius Cornelius Rufinus was twice conſul; the firſt time in the year of Rome 463, and the ſecond thirteen years after. He was expelled the ſenate two years after his ſecond conſulſhip, when Q. Fabricius Luſcinus, and Caius Aemelius Papus were cenſors. Velleius Paterculus tells us Sylla was the ſixth in deſcent from this Rufinus; which might very well be; for between the firſt conſulſhip of Rufinus and the firſt campaign of Sylla there was a ſpace of a hundred and eighty-eight years.

"fortune, though thy father left thee nothing?" It ſeems, though the Romans at that time did not retain their ancient integrity and purity of manners, but were degenerated into luxury and expence, yet they conſidered it as no leſs diſgraceful to have departed from family poverty, than to have ſpent a paternal eſtate. And a long time after, when Sylla had made himſelf abſolute, and put numbers to death, a man who was only the ſecond of his family that was free, being condemned to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, for concealing a friend of his that was in the proſcription, ſpoke of Sylla in this upbraiding manner---"I am his old acquaintance; "we lived long under the ſame roof: I hired the "upper apartment at two thouſand ſeſterces, and he "that under me at three thouſand." So that the difference between their fortunes was then only a thouſand ſeſterces, which in Attic money is two hundred and fifty drachmas. Such is the account we have of his origin.

As to his figure, we have the whole of it in his ſtatues, except his eyes. They were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing; and the ferocity of his aſpect was heightened by his complexion, which was a ſtrong red interſperſed with ſpots of white. From his complexion, they tell us, he had the name of † Sylla; and an Athenian droll drew the following jeſt from it---

"Sylla's a mulberry ſtrew'd o'er with meal." Nor is it foreign to make theſe obſervations upon a man, who in his youth, before he emerged from obſcurity, was ſuch a lover of drollery, that he ſpent his time with mimics and jeſters, and went with them every length of riot. Nay, when in the heighth of his power, he would collect the moſt noted players and buf-

† Sil or Syl is a yellow kind of earth, which, when burnt, becomes red. Hence *Syllaceus Color* in Vitruvius ſignifies purple.

buffoons every day, and, in a manner unſuitable to his age and dignity, drink and join with them in licentious wit, while buſineſs of conſequence lay neglected. Indeed, Sylla would never admit of any thing ſerious at his table; and though at other times a man of buſineſs, and rather grave and auſtere in his manner, he would change inſtantaneouſly, whenever he had company, and begin a carouſal. So that to buffoons and dancers he was the moſt affable man in the world, the moſt eaſy of acceſs, and they moulded him juſt as they pleaſed.

To this diſſipation may be imputed his libidinous attachments, his diſorderly and infamous love of pleaſure, which ſtuck by him even in age. One of his miſtreſſes, named Nicopolis, was a courtezan, but very rich. She was ſo taken with his company and the beauty of his perſon, that ſhe entertained a real paſſion for him, and at her death appointed him her heir. His mother-in-law, who loved him as her own ſon, likewiſe left him her eſtate. With theſe additions to his fortune, he was tolerably provided for.

He was appointed quaeſtor to Marius in his firſt conſulſhip, and went over with him into Africa to carry on the war with Jugurtha. In the military department he gained great honour, and, among other things, availed himſelf of an opportunity to make a friend of Bocchus king of Numidia. The ambaſſadors of that prince had juſt eſcaped out of the hands of robbers, and were in a very indifferent condition, when Sylla gave them the moſt humane reception, loaded them with preſents, and ſent them back with a ſtrong guard.

Bocchus, who for a long time had both hated and feared his ſon-in-law Jugurtha, had him then at his court. He had taken refuge there after his defeat; and Bocchus, now meditating to betray him, choſe rather to let Sylla ſeize him, than to deliver him up himſelf. Sylla communicated the affair to Marius, and

and taking a ſmall party with him, ſet out upon the expedition, dangerous as it was. What, indeed, could be more ſo, than in hopes of getting another man into his power, to truſt himſelf with a Barbarian who was treacherous to his own relations? In fact, when Bocchus ſaw them at his diſpoſal, and that he was under a neceſſity to betray either the one or the other, he debated long with himſelf, which ſhould be the victim. At laſt, he determined to abide by his firſt reſolution, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

This procured Marius a triumph; but envy aſcribed all the glory of it to Sylla; which Marius in his heart not a little reſented. Eſpecially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame, and from a low and obſcure condition now came to general eſteem, let his ambition carry him ſo far, as to give orders for a ſignet to be engraved with a repreſentation of this adventure, which he conſtantly uſed in ſealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.

This touched Marius to the quick. However, as he thought Sylla not conſiderable enough to be the object of envy, he continued to employ him in his wars. Thus in his ſecond conſulſhip he made him one of his lieutenants, and in his third gave him the command of a thouſand men. Sylla, in theſe ſeveral capacities, performed many important ſervices. In that of lieutenant, he took Copillus, chief of the Tectoſagae, priſoner; and in that of tribune, he perſuaded the great and popular nation of the Marſi to declare themſelves friends and allies of the Romans. But finding Marius uneaſy at his ſucceſs, and that, inſtead of giving him new occaſions to diſtinguiſh himſelf, he rather oppoſed his advancement, he applied to Catulus the collegue of Marius.

Catulus was a worthy man, but wanted that vigour which is neceſſary for action. He therefore employed Sylla in the moſt difficult enterpriſes; which opened him a fine field both of honour and power. He ſubdued moſt of the Barbarians that inhabited the Alps; and in a time of ſcarcity, undertook to procure a ſupply of proviſions; which he performed ſo effectually, that there was not only abundance in the camp of Catulus, but the overplus ſerved to relieve that of Marius.

Sylla himſelf writes, that Marius was greatly afflicted at this circumſtance. From ſo ſmall and childiſh a cauſe did that enmity ſpring, which afterwards grew up in blood, and was nouriſhed by civil wars and the rage of faction; 'till it ended in tyranny and the confuſion of the whole ſtate. This ſhews how wiſe a man Euripides was, and how well he underſtood the diſtempers of government, when he called upon mankind to beware of * ambition, as the moſt deſtructive of daemons to thoſe that worſhip her.

Sylla by this time thought the glory he had acquired in war ſufficient to procure him a ſhare in the adminiſtration, and therefore immediately left the camp, to go and make his court to the people. The office he ſolicited, was that of the *city praetorſhip*, but he failed in the attempt. The reaſon he aſſigns is this: the people, he ſays, knowing the friendſhip between him and Bocchus, expected, if he was aedile before his praetorſhip, that he would treat them with magnificent huntings and combats of African wild beaſts, and on that account choſe other praetors, that he might be forced upon the aedileſhip. But the ſubſequent events ſhewed the cauſe alledged by Sylla not to be the true one. For the † year following he got himſelf elected praetor, partly by his aſſiduities, and partly by his money. While he

* Phoeniſſae, v. 534. † The year of Rome 657.

he bore that office he happened to be provoked at Caeſar, and ſaid to him angrily, "I will uſe *my* authority againſt you." *Caeſar anſwered laughing, "You do well to call it *your's*, for you bought it."

After his praetorſhip he was ſent into Cappadocia. His pretence for that expedition was the re-eſtabliſhment of Ariobarzanes; but his real deſign was to reſtrain the enterpriſing ſpirit of Mithridates, who was gaining himſelf dominions no leſs reſpectable than his paternal ones. He did not take many troops with him out of Italy, but availed himſelf of the ſervice of the allies, whom he found well affected to the cauſe. With theſe he attacked the Cappadocians, and cut in pieces great numbers of them, and ſtill more of the Armenians, who came to their ſuccour: in conſequence of which, Gordius was driven out, and Ariobarzanes reſtored to his kingdom.

During his encampment on the banks of the Euphrates, Orobazus came ambaſſador to him from Arſaces king of Parthia. There had as yet been no intercourſe between the two nations: and it muſt be conſidered as a circumſtance of Sylla's good fortune, that he was the firſt Roman to whom the Parthians applied for friendſhip and alliance. At the time of audience, he is ſaid to have ordered three chairs, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and another in the middle for himſelf. Orobazus was afterwards put to death by the king of Parthia, for ſubmitting ſo far to a Roman. As for Sylla, ſome commended his lofty behaviour to the Barbarians; while others blamed it, as inſolent and out of ſeaſon.

It is reported, that a certain † Chalcidian, in the train of Orobazus, looked at Sylla's face, and obſerved

* This muſt have been Sextus Julius Caeſar, who was conſul four years after Sylla's praetorſhip. Caius Julius Caeſar was only four years old when Sylla was praetor.

† Of Chalcis the metropolis of Chalcidene in Syria; if Plutarch did not rather write Chaldaean.

ſerved very attentively the turn of his ideas and the motions of his body. Theſe he compared with the rules of his art, and then declared, "that he muſt "infallibly be one day the greateſt of men; and that "it was ſtrange, he could bear to be any thing leſs "at preſent."

At his return, Cenſorinus prepared to accuſe him of extortion; for drawing, contrary to law, vaſt ſums from a kingdom that was in alliance with Rome. He did not, however, bring it to a trial, but dropped the intended impeachment.

The quarrel between Sylla and Marius broke out afreſh on the following occaſion. Bocchus, to make his court to the people of Rome, and to Sylla at the ſame time, was ſo officious as to dedicate ſeveral images of victory in the capitol, and cloſe by them a figure of Jugurtha in gold, in the form he had delivered him up to Sylla. Marius, unable to digeſt the affront, prepared to pull them down, and Sylla's friends were determined to hinder it. Between them both the whole city was ſet in a flame, when the Confederate war, which had long lain ſmothered, broke out, and for the preſent put a ſtop to the ſedition.

In this great war, which was ſo various in it's fortune, and brought ſo many miſchiefs and dangers upon the Romans, it appeared from the ſmall execution Marius did, that military ſkill requires a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution to ſecond it. Sylla, on the other hand, performed ſo many memorable things, that the citizens looked upon him as a great general, his friends as the greateſt in the world, and his enemies as the moſt fortunate. Nor did he behave, with reſpect to that notion, like Timotheus the ſon of Conon. The enemies of that Athenian aſcribed all his ſucceſs to fortune, and got a picture drawn, in which he was repreſented aſleep, and fortune by his ſide taking cities for him in her net. Upon this he gave way to an indecent paſſion, and complained

plained that he was robbed of the glory due to his atchievements. Nay, afterwards, on his return from a certain expedition, he addreſſed the people in theſe terms---" My fellow-citizens, you muſt acknowledge " that in this, Fortune has no ſhare." It is ſaid, the goddeſs piqued herſelf ſo far on being revenged on this vanity of Timotheus, that he could never do any thing extraordinary afterwards, but was baffled in all his undertakings, and became ſo obnoxious to the people, that they baniſhed him.

Sylla took a different courſe. It not only gave him pleaſure to hear his ſucceſs imputed to Fortune, but he encouraged the opinion, thinking it added an air of greatneſs and even divinity to his actions. Whether he did this out of vanity, or from a real perſuaſion of it's truth, we cannot ſay. However, he writes in his commentaries, " That his inſtanta- " neous reſolutions, and enterpriſes executed in a " manner different from what he had intended, always " ſucceeded better than thoſe on which he beſtowed " the moſt time and forethought." It is plain too from that ſaying of his, " That he was born rather " for fortune than war," that he attributed more to fortune than to valour. In ſhort, he makes himſelf entirely the creature of Fortune, ſince he aſcribes to her divine influence the good underſtanding that always ſubſiſted between him and Metellus, a man in the ſame ſphere of life with himſelf, and his father-in-law. For, whereas he expected to find him a man troubleſome in office, he proved on the contrary a quiet and obliging collegue. Add to this, that in the commentaries inſcribed to Lucullus, he adviſes him to depend upon nothing more than that which heaven directed him to in the viſions of the night. He tells us farther, that when he was ſent at the head of an army againſt the Confederates, the earth opened on a ſudden near * Laverna; and that there iſſued out

* In the Salarian way there was a grove and temple conſecrated to the goddeſs Laverna.

out of the chaſm, which was very large, a vaſt quantity of fire, and a flame that ſhot up to the heavens. The ſoothſayers being conſulted upon it, made anſwer, "That a perſon of courage and ſu-"perior beauty, ſhould take the reins of govern-"ment into his hands, and ſuppreſs the tumults "with which Rome was then agitated." Sylla ſays, he was the man; for that his locks of gold were ſufficient proof of his beauty, and that he needed not heſitate, after ſo many great actions, to avow himſelf a man of courage. Thus much concerning his confidence in the gods.

In other reſpects he was not ſo conſiſtent with himſelf. Rapacious in a high degree, but ſtill more liberal; in preferring or diſgracing whom he pleaſed, equally unaccountable; ſubmiſſive to thoſe who might be of ſervice to him, and ſevere to thoſe who wanted ſervices from him: ſo that it was hard to ſay whether he was more inſolent, or more ſervile in his nature. Such was his inconſiſtency in puniſhing, that he would ſometimes put men to the moſt cruel tortures on the ſlighteſt grounds, and ſometimes overlook the greateſt crimes; he would eaſily take ſome perſons into favour after the moſt unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance of others for ſmall and trifling faults by death and confiſcation of goods. Theſe things can be no otherwiſe reconciled, than by concluding that he was ſevere and vindictive in his temper, but occaſionally checked thoſe inclinations, where his own intereſt was concerned.

In this very war with the Confederates, his ſoldiers diſpatched, with clubs and ſtones, a lieutenant of his, named Albinus, who had been honoured with the praetorſhip; yet he ſuffered them, after ſuch a crime, to eſcape with impunity. He only took occaſion from thence to boaſt, that he ſhould find they would exert themſelves more during the reſt of the war, becauſe they would endeavour to atone for that offence by extraordinary acts of valour. The cenſure

he

he incurred on this occaſion did not affect him. His great object was the deſtruction of Marius, and finding that the Confederate war was drawing towards an end, he paid his court to the army, that he might be appointed general againſt Marius. Upon his return to Rome he was elected conſul with Quinctus Pompeius, being then fifty years old, and at the ſame time he entered into an advantageous marriage with Caecilia daughter of Metellus the high prieſt. This match occaſioned a good deal of popular cenſure. Sarcaſtical ſongs were made upon it; and, according to Livy's account, many of the principal citizens invidiouſly thought him unworthy of that alliance, though they had not thought him unworthy of the conſulſhip. This lady was not his firſt wife, for in the early part of his life he married Ilia, by whom he had a daughter; afterwards he eſpouſed Aelia and after her Caelia, whom on account of her barrenneſs, he repudiated, without any other marks of diſgrace, and diſmiſſed with valuable preſents. However, as he ſoon after married Metella, the diſmiſſion of Caelia became the object of cenſure. Metella he always treated with the utmoſt reſpect; inſomuch that when the people of Rome were deſirous that he ſhould recall the exiles of Marius's party, and could not prevail with him, they intreated Metella to uſe her good offices for them. It was thought too that when he took Athens, that city had harder uſage, becauſe the inhabitants had jeſted vilely on Metella from the walls. But theſe things happened afterwards.

The conſulſhip was now but of ſmall conſideration with him in compariſon of what he had in view. His heart was fixed on obtaining the conduct of the Mithridatic war. In this reſpect he had a rival in Marius, who was poſſeſſed with an ill-timed ambition and madneſs for fame, paſſions which never grow old.

* In the year of Rome 665.

old. Though now unwieldy in his perſon, and obliged, on account of his age, to give up his ſhare in the expeditions near home, he wanted the direction of foreign wars. This man, watching his opportunity in Rome, when Sylla was gone to the camp to ſettle ſome matters that remained unfiniſhed, framed that fatal ſedition, which hurt her more eſſentially than all the wars ſhe had ever been engaged in. Heaven ſent prodigies to prefigure it. Fire blazed out of it's own accord from the enſign ſtaves, and was with difficulty extinguiſhed. Three ravens brought their young into the city, and devoured them there, and then carried the remains back to their neſts. Some rats having gnawed the conſecrated gold in a certain temple, the ſacriſtans caught one of them in a trap; where ſhe brought forth five young ones, and eat three of them. And what was moſt conſiderable, one day when the ſky was ſerene and clear, there was heard in it the ſound of a trumpet, ſo loud, ſo ſhrill and mournful, that it frightened and aſtoniſhed all the world. The Tuſcan ſages ſaid it portended a new race of men, and a renovation of the world. For they obſerved, that there were eight ſeveral kinds of men, all different in life and manners: That heaven had allotted each it's time, which was limited by the circuit of the great year; and that, when one came to a period, and another race was riſing, it was announced by ſome wonderful ſign either from earth or from heaven. So that it was evident at one view to thoſe who attended to theſe things, and were verſed in them, that a new ſort of men was come into the world, with other manners and cuſtoms, and more or leſs the care of the gods than thoſe who preceded them. They added, that in this revolution of ages many ſtrange alterations happened: that divination, for inſtance, ſhould be held in great honour in ſome one age, and prove ſucceſsful in all it's predictions, becauſe the deity afforded pure and perfect ſigns to proceed by; whereas in another it ſhould be in ſmall repute, being moſtly

moſtly extemporaneous, and calculating future events from uncertain and obſcure principles. Such was the mythology of the moſt learned and reſpectable of the Tuſcan ſoothſayers. While the ſenate were attending to their interpretations in the temple of Bellona, a ſparrow, in ſight of the whole body, brought in a graſhopper in her mouth, and after ſhe had torn it in two, left one part among them, and carried the other off. The diviners declared, they apprehended from this a dangerous ſedition and diſpute between the town and the country. For the inhabitants of the town are noiſy like the graſhopper, and thoſe of the country are domeſtic beings like the ſparrow*.

Soon after this, Marius got Sulpitius to join him. This man was inferior to none in deſperate attempts. Indeed, inſtead of enquiring for another more emphatically wicked, you muſt aſk in what inſtance of wickedneſs he exceeded himſelf. He was a compound of cruelty, impudence and avarice, and he could commit the moſt horrid and infamous of crimes in cold blood. He ſold the freedom of Rome openly to perſons that had been ſlaves, as well as to ſtrangers, and had the money told out upon a table in the *Forum*. He had always about him a guard of three hundred men well armed, and a company of young men of the equeſtrian order, whom he called his anti-ſenate. Though he got a law made, that no ſenator ſhould contract debts to the amount of more than two thouſand drachmas, yet it appeared at his death that he owed more than three millions. This

* The original is obſcure and imperfect in this place; conſequently corrupt. It ſtands thus—φωναεντα γαρ τουτον ειναι, καθαπερ τεττιγα· τους δε χωριτας, αγοραιους. Bryan ſays, it ſhould be reſtored from the manuſcripts thus——καθαπερ ςρουθον τους δε χωριτας, αρουραιους καθαπερ τεττιγας. According to this, the ſenſe will be the reverſe of the text—*The inhabitants of the town are noiſy like the ſparrow, and thoſe of the country frequent the fields like the graſhopper.*

There is, indeed, an anonymous manuſcript, which gives us that reading.

This wretch was let looſe upon the people by Marius, and carried all before him by dint of ſword. Among other bad edicts which he procured, one was that which gave the command in the Mithridatic war to Marius. Upon this, the conſuls ordered all the courts to be ſhut up. But one day as they were holding an aſſembly before the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, he ſet his ruffians upon them, and many were ſlain. The ſon of Pompey the conſul, who was yet but a youth, was of the number. Pompey concealed himſelf, and ſaved his life. Sylla was purſued into the houſe of Marius, and forced from thence to the *Forum*, to revoke the order for the ceſſation of public buſineſs. For this reaſon Sulpitius, when he deprived Pompey of the conſulſhip, continued Sylla in it, and only transferred the conduct of the war with Mithridates to Marius. In conſequence of this, he immediately ſent ſome military tribunes to Nola, to receive the army at the hands of Sylla, and bring it to Marius. But Sylla got before them to the camp, and his ſoldiers were no ſooner acquainted with the commiſſion of thoſe officers, than they ſtoned them to death.

Marius in return dipt his hands in the blood of Sylla's friends in Rome, and ordered their houſes to be plundered. Nothing now was to be ſeen but hurry and confuſion, ſome flying from the camp to the city, and ſome from the city to the camp. The ſenate were no longer free, but under the direction of Marius and Sulpitius. So that when they were informed that Sylla was marching towards Rome, they ſent two praetors, Brutus and Servilius, to ſtop him. As they delivered their orders with ſome haughtineſs to Sylla, the ſoldiers prepared to kill them; but at laſt contented themſelves with breaking their faſces, tearing off their robes, and ſending them away with every mark of diſgrace.

The very ſight of them, robbed as they were of the enſigns of their authority, ſpread ſorrow and conſternation

ſternation in Rome, and announced a ſedition, for which there was no longer either reſtraint or remedy. Marius prepared to repel force with force. Sylla moved from Nola at the head of ſix complete legions, and had his collegue along with him. His army, he ſaw, was ready at the firſt word to march to Rome, but he was unreſolved in his own mind, and apprehenſive of the danger. However, upon his offering ſacrifice, the ſoothſayer Poſthumius had no ſooner inſpected the entrails, than he ſtretched out both his hands to Sylla, and propoſed to be kept in chains 'till after the battle, in order for the worſt of puniſhments, if every thing did not ſoon ſucceed entirely to the general's wiſh. It is ſaid too, that there appeared to Sylla in a dream, the goddeſs whoſe worſhip the Romans received from the Cappadocians, whether it be the moon, Minerva, or Bellona. She ſeemed to ſtand by him, and put thunder in his hand, and having called his enemies by name one after another, bade him ſtrike them: they fell, and were conſumed by it to aſhes. Encouraged by this viſion, which he related next morning to his collegue, he took his way towards Rome.

When he had reached * Picinae, he was met by an embaſſy, that intreated him not to advance in that hoſtile manner, ſince the ſenate had come to a reſolution to do him all the juſtice he could deſire. He promiſed to grant all they aſked; and, as if he intended to encamp there, ordered his officers, as uſual, to mark out the ground. The ambaſſadors took their leave with entire confidence in his honour. But as ſoon as they were gone, he diſpatched Baſillus and Caius Mummius to make themſelves maſters of the gate

* There being no place between Nola and Rome called Picinae, Lubinus thinks we ſhould read Pictae, which was a place of public entertainment about twenty-five miles from the capital. Strabo and Antoninus (in his Itinerary) mention it as ſuch.

gate and the wall by the Aeſquiline mount. He himſelf followed with the utmoſt expedition. Accordingly Baſillus and his party ſeized the gate, and entered the city. But the unarmed multitude got upon the tops of the houſes, and with ſtones and tiles drove them back to the foot of the wall. At that moment Sylla arrived, and ſeeing the oppoſition his ſoldiers met with, called out to them to ſet fire to the houſes. He took a flaming torch in his own hands, and advanced before them. At the ſame time he ordered his archers to ſhoot fire-arrows at the roofs. Reaſon had no longer any power over him; paſſion and fury governed all his motions; his enemies were all he thought of---and in the thirſt for vengeance, he made no account of his friends, nor took the leaſt compaſſion on his relations. Such was the caſe, when he made his way with fire, which makes no diſtinction between the innocent and guilty.

Mean while, Marius, who was driven back to the temple of Veſta, proclaimed liberty to the ſlaves that would repair to his ſtandard. But the enemy preſſed on with ſo much vigour, that he was forced to quit the city.

Sylla immediately aſſembled the ſenate, and got Marius, and a few others, condemned to death. The tribune Sulpitius, who was of the number, was betrayed by one of his own ſlaves, and brought to the block. Sylla gave the ſlave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. As for Marius he ſet a price upon his head: in which he behaved neither with gratitude nor good policy, ſince he had not long before fled into the houſe of Marius, and put his life in his hands, and yet was diſmiſſed in ſafety. Had Marius, inſtead of letting him go, given him up to Sulpitius who thirſted for his blood, he might have been abſolute maſter of Rome. But he ſpared his enemy; and a few days after, when there was opportunity for a return, met not with the ſame generous treatment.

The

The ſenate did not expreſs the concern which this gave them. But the people openly and by facts ſhewed their reſentment and reſolution to make repriſals. For they rejected his nephew Nonius, who relied on his recommendation, and his fellow-candidate Servius, in an ignominious manner, and appointed others to the conſulſhip, whoſe promotion they thought would be moſt diſagreeable to him. Sylla pretended great ſatisfaction at the thing, and ſaid, "he was quite happy to ſee the people by his means "enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought "proper." Nay, to obviate their hatred, he propoſed Lucius Cinna, who was of the oppoſite faction for conſul, but firſt laid him under the ſanction of a ſolemn oath, to aſſiſt him in all his affairs. Cinna went up to the capitol with a ſtone in his hand. There he ſwore before all the world, to preſerve the friendſhip between them inviolable, adding this imprecation, "If I be guilty of any breach of it, may "I be driven from the city, as this ſtone is from my "hand!" at the ſame time, he threw the ſtone upon the ground. Yet as ſoon as he was entered upon his office, he began to raiſe new commotions, and ſet up an impeachment againſt Sylla, of which Verginius, one of the tribunes, was to be the manager. But Sylla left both the manager and the impeachment behind him, and ſet forward againſt Mithridates.

About the time that Sylla ſet ſail from Italy, Mithridates, we are told, was viſited with many ill preſages at Pergamus. Among the reſt, an image of victory, bearing a crown, which was contrived to be let down by a machine, broke juſt as it was going to put the crown upon his head, and the crown itſelf was daſhed to pieces upon the floor of the theatre. The people of Pergamus were ſeized with aſtoniſhment, and Mithridates felt no ſmall concern, though his affairs then proſpered beyond his hopes. For he had taken Aſia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their reſpective kings, and was ſet

down in quiet at Pergamus, diſpoſing of rich governments and kingdoms among his friends at pleaſure. As for his ſons, the eldeſt governed in peace the ancient kingdoms of Pontus and Boſphorus, extending as far as the deſerts above the Maeotic lake: the other, named Ariarathes, was ſubduing Thrace and Macedonia with a great army. His generals with their armies were reducing other conſiderable places. The principal of theſe was Archelaus, who commanded the ſeas with his fleet, was conquering the Cyclades, and all the other iſlands within the bay of Malea, and was maſter of Euboea itſelf. He met, indeed, with ſome check at Chaeronea. There Brutius Sura, lieutenant to Sentius who commanded in Macedonia, a man diſtinguiſhed by his courage and capacity, oppoſed Archelaus, who was overflowing Boeotia like a torrent, defeated him in three engagements near Chaeronea, and confined him again to the ſea. But, as Lucius Lucullus came and ordered him to give place to Sylla, to whom that province, and the conduct of the war there, were decreed, he immediately quitted Boeotia, and returned to Sentius, though his ſucceſs was beyond all that he could have flattered himſelf with, and Greece was ready to declare again for the Romans, on account of his valour and conduct. It is true, theſe were the moſt ſhining actions of Brutius's life.

When Sylla was arrived, the cities ſent ambaſſadors with an offer of opening their gates to him. Athens alone was held by it's tyrant Ariſtion for Mithridates. He therefore attacked it with the utmoſt vigour, inveſted the Piraeus, brought up all ſorts of engines, and left no kind of aſſault whatever unattempted. Had he waited a while, he might without the leaſt danger have taken the upper town, which was already reduced by famine to the laſt extremity. But his haſte to return to Rome, where he apprehended ſome change in affairs to his prejudice, made him run every riſque, and ſpare neither men nor money, to bring

bring this war to a concluſion. For, beſides his other warlike equipage, he had ten thouſand yoke of mules, which worked every day at the engines. As wood began to fail, by reaſon of the immenſe weights which broke down his machines, or their being burnt by the enemy, he cut down the ſacred groves. The ſhady walks of the Academy and the Lycaeum in the ſuburbs fell before his ax. And as the war required vaſt ſums of money to ſupport it, he ſcrupled not to violate the holy treaſures of Greece, but took from Epidaurus, as well as Olympia, the moſt beautiful and precious of their gifts. He wrote alſo to the Amphictyones at Delphi, "that it would be beſt "for them to put the treaſures of Apollo in his "hands: for either he would keep them ſafer than "they could; or, if he applied them to his own "uſe, would return the full value." Caphis the Phocian, one of his friends, was ſent upon this commiſſion, and ordered to have every thing weighed to him.

Caphis went to Delphi, but was loth to touch the ſacred depoſits, and lamented to the Amphictyones the neceſſity he was under, with many tears. Some ſaid, they heard the ſound of the lyre in the inmoſt ſanctuary; and Caphis, either believing it, or willing to ſtrike Sylla with a religious terror, ſent him an account of it. But he wrote back in a jeſting way, "that he was ſurpriſed, Caphis ſhould not know that "muſic was the voice of joy, and not of reſent- "ment. He might, therefore, boldly take the trea- "ſures, ſince Apollo gave him them with the utmoſt "ſatisfaction."

Theſe treaſures were carried off, without being ſeen by many of the Greeks. But, of the royal offerings, there remained a ſilver tun, which being ſo large and heavy, that no carriage could bear it, the Amphictyones were obliged to cut it in pieces. At ſight of this, they called to mind, one while Flaminius and Manius Acilius, and another while Paulus

lus Æmilius; one of which having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the others ſubdued the kings of Macedonia, not only kept their hands from ſpoiling the Grecian temples, but expreſſed their regard and reverence for them by adding new gifts. Thoſe great men, indeed, were legally commiſſioned, and their ſoldiers were perſons of ſober minds, who had learnt to obey their generals without murmuring. The generals, with the magnanimity of kings, exceeded not private perſons in their expences, nor brought upon the ſtate any charge but what was common and reaſonable. In ſhort, they thought it no leſs diſgrace to flatter their own men, than to be afraid of the enemy. But the commanders of theſe times raiſed themſelves to high poſts by force, not by merit; and, as they wanted ſoldiers to fight their countrymen, rather than any foreign enemies, they were obliged to treat them with great complaiſance. While they thus bought their ſervice, at the price of miniſtring to their vices, they were not aware that they were ſelling their country; and making themſelves ſlaves to the meaneſt of mankind, in order to command the greateſt and the beſt. This baniſhed Marius from Rome, and afterwards brought him back againſt Sylla. This made Cinna dip his hands in the blood of Octavius, and Fimbria the aſſaſſin of Flaccus.

Sylla opened one of the firſt ſources of this corruption. For, to draw the troops of other officers from them, he laviſhly ſupplied the wants of his own. Thus, while by one and the ſame means he was inviting the former to deſertion, and the latter to luxury, he had occaſion for infinite ſums, and particularly in this ſiege. For his paſſion for taking Athens was irreſiſtibly violent: whether it was that he wanted to fight againſt that city's ancient renown, of which nothing but the ſhadow now remained; or whether he could not bear the ſcoffs and taunts, with which

which Ariſtion, in all the wantonneſs of ribaldry, inſulted him and Metella from the walls.

The compoſition of this tyrant's heart was inſolence and cruelty. He was the ſink of all the follies and vices of Mithridates. Poor Athens, which had got clear of innumerable wars, tyrannies and ſeditions, periſhed at laſt by this monſter, as by a deadly diſeaſe. A *buſhel of wheat was now ſold there for a thouſand drachmas. The people eat not only the herbs and roots that grew about the citadel, but ſodden leather and oil-bags; while he was indulging himſelf in riotous feaſts and dancings in the daytime, or mimicking and laughing at the enemy. He let the ſacred lamp of the goddeſs go out for want of oil; and when the principal prieſteſs ſent to aſk him for half a meaſure of barley, he ſent her that quantity of pepper. The ſenators and prieſts came to intreat him to take compaſſion on the city, and capitulate with Sylla, but he received them with a ſhower of arrows. At laſt, when it was too late, he agreed with much difficulty to ſend two or three of the companions of his riots to treat of peace. Theſe, inſtead of making any propoſals that tended to ſave the city, talked in a lofty manner about Theſeus, and Eumolpus, and the conqueſt of the Medes; which provoked Sylla to ſay, "Go, my noble ſouls, and take "back your fine ſpeeches with you. For my part, "I was not ſent to Athens to learn it's antiquities, "but to chaſtiſe it's rebellious people."

In the mean time, Sylla's ſpies heard ſome old men, who were converſing together in the Ceramicus, blame the tyrant for not ſecuring the wall near the Heptachalcos, which was the only place not impregnable. They carried this news to Sylla; and he, far from diſregarding it, went by night to take a view of that part of the wall, and found that it might be ſcaled. He then ſet immediately about it; and he

* Medimnus. See the table.

tells us in his commentaries, that Marcus † Teius was the firſt man who mounted the wall. Teius there met with an adverſary, and gave him ſuch a violent blow on the ſkull, that he broke his ſword; notwithſtanding which he ſtood firm and kept his place.

‡ Athens, therefore, was taken, as the old men had foretold. Sylla, having levelled with the ground all that was between the Piraean gate and that called the Sacred, entered the town at midnight, in a manner the moſt dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns ſounded, and were anſwered by the ſhouts and clang of the ſoldiers, let looſe to plunder and deſtroy. They ruſhed along the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and horrible was the ſlaughter they made. The number of the killed could not be computed; but we may form ſome judgment of it, by the quantity of ground which was overflowed with blood. For, beſide thoſe that fell in other parts of the city, the blood that was ſhed in the market-place only, covered all the Ceramicus as far as Dipylus. Nay, there are ſeveral who aſſure us, it ran through the gates, and overſpread the ſuburbs.

But though ſuch numbers were put to the ſword, there were as many who laid violent hands upon themſelves, in grief for their ſinking country. What reduced the beſt men among them to this deſpair of finding any mercy or moderate terms for Athens, was the well-known cruelty of Sylla. Yet partly by the interceſſion of Midias and Calliphon, and the exiles who threw themſelves at his feet, partly by the intreaties of the ſenators who attended him in that expedition, and being himſelf ſatiated with blood beſides, he was at laſt prevailed upon to ſtop his hand; and, in compliment to the ancient Athenians, he ſaid, "He forgave the many for the ſake of the "few, the living for the dead."

He

† Probably it ſhould be Ateius. In the life of Craſſus one Ateius is mentioned as a tribune of the people.

‡ Athens was taken 84 years before the birth of Chriſt.

He tells us in his commentaries, that he took Athens on the calends of March, which falls in with the new moon in the month Anthesterion; when the Athenians were performing many rites in memory of the destruction of the country by water; for the deluge was believed to have happened about that time of the year. *

The city thus taken, the tyrant retired into the citadel, and was besieged there by Curio, to whom Sylla gave that charge. He held out a considerable time, but at last was forced to surrender for want of water. In this the hand of heaven was very visible. For the very same day and hour that Ariston was brought out, the sky, which before was perfectly serene, grew black with clouds, and such a quantity of rain fell as quite overflowed the citadel. Soon after this, Sylla made himself master of the Piraeus; the most of which he laid in ashes, and among the rest, that admirable work, the Arsenal built by Philo.

During these transactions, Taxiles, Mithridates's general, came down from Thrace and Macedonia, with a hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes, and sent to desire Archelaus to meet him. Archelaus had then his station at Munychia, and neither chose to quit the sea, nor yet to fight the Romans, but was persuaded his point was to protract the war, and to cut off the enemy's convoys. Sylla saw better than he, the distress he might be in for provisions, and therefore moved from that barren country, which was scarce sufficient to maintain his troops in time of peace, and led them into Boeotia. Most people thought this an error in his counsels, to quit the rocks of Attica where horse could hardly act, and to expose himself on the large and open plains of Boeotia, when he knew the chief strength of the Barbarians

* The deluge of Ogyges happened in Attica near seventeen hundred years before.

barians conſiſted in cavalry and chariots. But to avoid hunger and famine, he was forced, as we have obſerved, to hazard a battle. Beſides, he was in pain for Hortenſius, a man of a great and enterpriſing ſpirit, who was bringing him a conſiderable reinforcement from Theſſaly, and was watched by the Barbarians in the Straits. Theſe were the reaſons which induced Sylla to march into Boeotia. As for Hortenſius, Caphis, a countryman of our's, led him another way, and diſappointed the Barbarians. He conducted him by mount Parnaſſus to Tithora, which is now a large city, but was then only a fort ſituated on the brow of a ſteep precipice, where the Phocians of old took refuge, when Xerxes invaded their country. Hortenſius, having pitched his tents there, in the day-time kept off the enemy; and in the night made his way down the broken rocks to Patronis, where Sylla met him with all his forces.

Thus united, they took poſſeſſion of a fertile hill, in the middle of the plains of Elateia, well ſheltered with trees, and watered at the bottom. It is called Philoboeotus, and is much commended by Sylla for the fruitfulneſs of it's ſoil and it's agreeable ſituation. When they were encamped, they appeared to the enemy no more than a handful. They had not indeed above fifteen hundred horſe, and not quite fifteen thouſand foot. The other generals in a manner forced Archelaus upon action; and when they came to put their forces in order of battle, they filled the whole plain with horſes, chariots, bucklers and targets. The clamour and hideous roar of ſo many nations ranked thick together, ſeemed to rend the ſky; and the pomp and ſplendor of their appearance was not without it's uſe in exciting terror. For the luſtre of their arms which were richly adorned with gold and ſilver, and the colours of their Median and Scythian veſts intermixed with braſs and poliſhed ſteel, when the troops were in motion, kind-

led

led the air with an aweful flame like that of lightning.

The Romans in great conſternation ſhut themſelves up within their trenches. Sylla could not with all his arguments remove their fears; and, as he did not chooſe to force them into the field in this diſpirited condition, he ſate ſtill, and bore, though with great reluctance, the vain boaſts and inſults of the Barbarians. This was of more ſervice to him than any other meaſure he could have adopted. The enemy, who held him in great contempt, and were not before very obedient to their own generals by reaſon of their number, now forgot all diſcipline; and but few of them remained within their entrenchments. Invited by rapine and plunder, the greateſt part had diſperſed themſelves, and were got ſeveral days journey from the camp. In theſe excurſions, it is ſaid, they ruined the city of Panopea, ſacked Lebadia, and pillaged a temple where oracles were delivered, without orders from any one of their generals.

Sylla, full of ſorrow and indignation to have theſe cities deſtroyed before his eyes, was willing to try what effect labour would have upon his ſoldiers. He compelled them to dig trenches, to draw the Cephiſus from it's channel, and made them work at it without intermiſſion; ſtanding inſpector himſelf, and ſeverely puniſhing all whom he found remiſs. His view in this was to tire them with labour, that they might give the preference to danger; and it anſwered the end he propoſed. On the third day of their drudgery, as Sylla paſſed by, they called out to him to lead them againſt the enemy. Sylla ſaid, "It is "not any inclination to fight, but an unwillingneſs "to work, that puts you upon this requeſt. If you "really want to come to an engagement, go, ſword "in hand, and ſeize that poſt immediately." At the ſame time he pointed to the place, where had formerly ſtood the citadel of the Paropotamians; but all the buildings were now demoliſhed, and there was nothing

thing left but a craggy and ſteep mountain, juſt ſeparated from mount Edylium by the river Aſſus, which at the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephiſus. The river growing very rapid by this confluence, makes the ridge a ſafe place for an encampment. Sylla ſeeing thoſe of the enemy's troops called Chalcaſpides, haſtening to ſeize that poſt, wanted to gain it before them, and, by availing himſelf of the preſent ſpirit of his men, he ſucceeded. Archilaus upon this diſappointment turned his arms againſt Chaeronea; the inhabitants, in conſequence of their former connections with Sylla, intreated him not to deſert the place; upon which he ſent along with them the military tribune Gabinius with one legion. The Chaeroneans, with all their ardour to reach their city, did not arrive ſooner than Gabinius: Such was his honour when engaged in their defence, that it even eclipſed the zeal of thoſe who implored his aſſiſtance. Juba tells us that it was not Gabinius but *Ericius who was diſpatched on this occaſion. In this critical ſituation, however, was the city of Chaeronea.

The Romans now received from Lebadia and the cave of Trophonius very agreeable accounts of oracles that promiſed victory. The inhabitants of that country tell us many ſtories about them; but what Sylla himſelf writes, in the tenth book of his commentaries, is this: Quintus Titius, a man of ſome note among the Romans employed in Greece, came to him one day after he had gained the battle of Chaeronea, and told him, that Trophonius foretold another battle to be fought ſhortly in the ſame place, in which he ſhould likewiſe prove victorious. After him, came a private ſoldier of his own, with a promiſe from heaven of the glorious ſucceſs that would attend

* It is probable, it ſhould be read Hirtius; for ſo ſome manuſcripts have it, where the ſame perſon is mentioned again afterwards.

attend his affairs in Italy. Both agreed as to the manner in which theſe prophecies were communicated: they ſaid, the deity that appeared to them, both in beauty and majeſty reſembled the olympian Jupiter.

When Sylla had paſſed the Aſſus, he encamped under mount Edylium, over againſt Archelaus, who had ſtrongly entrenched himſelf between Acontium and Edylium, near a place called Aſſii. That ſpot of ground bears the name of Archelaus to this day. Sylla paſſed one day without attempting any thing. The day following, he left Muraena with a legion and two cohorts, to harraſs the enemy who were already in ſome diſorder, while he himſelf went and ſacrificed on the banks of the Cephiſus. After the ceremony was over, he proceeded to Chaeronea, to join the forces there, and to take a view of Thurium, a poſt which the enemy had gained before him. This is a craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point, which we expreſs in our language by the term *Orthopagos*. At the foot of it runs the river † Morius, and by it ſtands the temple of Apollo Thurius. Apollo is ſo called from Thuro the mother of Chaeron, who, as hiſtory informs us, was the founder of Chaeronea. Others ſay, that the heifer which the Pythian Apollo appointed Cadmus for his guide, firſt preſented herſelf there, and that the place was thence named Thurium; for the Phaenicians call a heifer *Thor*.

As Sylla approached Chaeronea, the tribune who had the city in charge, led out his troops to meet him, having himſelf a crown of laurel in his hands. Juſt as Sylla received them, and began to animate them to the intended enterpriſe, Homoloichus and Anaxidamus, two Chaeroneans addreſſed him, with a promiſe to cut off the corps that occupied Tharium, if

† This river is afterwards called *Molus*; but which is the right reading is uncertain.

if he would give them a ſmall party to ſupport them in the attempt. For there was a path which the Barbarians were not appriſed of, leading from a place called Petrochus, by the temple of the muſes, to a part of the mountain that overlooked them; from whence it was eaſy either to deſtroy them with ſtones, or drive them down into the plain. Sylla finding the character of theſe men for courage and fidelity ſupported by Gabinius, ordered them to put the thing in execution. Mean time he drew up his forces, and placed the cavalry in the wings; taking the right himſelf, and giving the left to Muraena. * Gallus and Hortenſius, his lieutenants, commanded a body of reſerve in the rear, and kept watch upon the heights, to prevent their being ſurrounded. For it was eaſy to ſee that the enemy were preparing, with their wings which conſiſted of an infinite number of horſe, and all their light-armed foot, troops that could move with great agility, and wind away at pleaſure, to take a circuit, and quite incloſe the Roman army.

In the mean time, the two Chaeroneans, ſupported, according to Sylla's order, by a party commanded by Ericius, ſtole unobſerved up Thurium, and gained the ſummit. As ſoon as they made their appearance, the Barbarians were ſtruck with conſternation, and ſought refuge in flight; but in the confuſion many of them periſhed by means of each other. For, unable to find any firm footing, as they moved down the ſteep mountain, they fell upon the ſpears of thoſe that were next before them, or elſe puſhed them down the precipice. All this while the enemy were preſſing upon them from above, and galling them behind; inſomuch that three thouſand men were killed upon Thurium. As to thoſe who got down, ſome

* Guarin. after Appian's *Mithrid.* reads *Galba*. And ſo it is in ſeveral manuſcripts. Dacier propoſes to read *Balbus*; which name occurs afterwards.

ſome fell into the hands of Muraena, who met them in good order, and eaſily cut them in pieces; others who fled to the main body under Archelaus, wherever they fell in with it, filled it with terror and diſmay; and this was the thing that gave the officers moſt trouble, and principally occaſioned the defeat. Sylla, taking advantage of their diſorder, moved with ſuch vigour and expedition to the charge, that he prevented the effect of the armed chariots. For the chief ſtrength of thoſe chariots conſiſts in the courſe they run, and in the impetuoſity conſequent upon it; and if they have but a ſhort compaſs, they are as inſignificant as arrows ſent from a bow not well drawn. This was the caſe at preſent with reſpect to the Barbarians. Their chariots moved at firſt ſo ſlow, and their attacks were ſo lifeleſs, that the Romans clapped their hands, and received them with the utmoſt ridicule. They even called for freſh ones, as they uſed to do in the Hippodrome at Rome.

Upon this, the infantry engaged. The Barbarians, for their part, tried what their long pikes would do; and, by locking their ſhields together, endeavoured to keep themſelves in good order. As for the Romans, after their ſpears had had all the effect that could be expected from them, they drew their ſwords, and met the ſcymetars of the enemy with the ſtrength which a juſt indignation inſpires. For Mithridates's generals had brought over fifteen thouſand ſlaves upon a proclamation of liberty, and placed them among the heavy-armed infantry. On which occaſion a certain centurion is ſaid thus to have expreſſed himſelf---"Surely theſe are the *Saturnalia*; for we "never ſaw ſlaves have any ſhare of liberty at ano-"ther time." However, as their ranks were ſo cloſe, and their file ſo deep, that they could not eaſily be broken; and as they exerted a ſpirit which could not be expected from them, they were not repulſed and put in diſorder till the archers and ſlingers

of

of the ſecond line diſcharged all their fury upon them.

Archelaus was now extending his right wiug, in order to ſurround the Romans, and Hortenſius, with the cohorts under his command, puſhed down to take him in flank. But Archelaus, by a ſudden manoeuvre turned againſt him with two thouſand horſe whom he had at hand, and by little and little drove him towards the mountains; ſo that being ſeparated from the main body, he was in danger of being quite hemmed in by the enemy. Sylla, informed of this, puſhed up with his right wing which had not yet engaged, to the aſſiſtance of Hortenſius. On the other hand, Archelaus, conjecturing, from the duſt that flew about, the real ſtate of the caſe, left Hortenſius, and haſtened back to the right of the Roman army from whence Sylla had advanced, in hopes of finding it without a commander.

At the ſame time Taxilles led on the *Chalcaſpides* againſt Muraena, ſo that ſhouts were ſet up on both ſides, which were re-echoed by the neighbouring mountains. Sylla now ſtopped to conſider which way he ſhould direct his courſe. At length concluding to return to his own poſt, he ſent Hortenſius with four cohorts to the aſſiſtance of Muraena, and himſelf with the fifth made up to his right wing with the utmoſt expedition. He found that without him it kept a good countenance againſt the troops of Archelaus; but as ſoon as he appeared, his men made ſuch prodigious efforts, that they routed the enemy entirely, and purſued them to the river and mount Acontium.

Amidſt this ſucceſs, Sylla was not unmindful of Muraena's danger, but haſtened with a reinforcement to that quarter. He found him, however, victorious, and therefore had nothing to do but to join in the purſuit. Great numbers of the Barbarians fell in the field of battle, and ſtill greater as they were endeavouring to gain their entrenchments: ſo that out of

of ſo many myriads only ten thouſand men reached Chalcis. Sylla ſays, he miſſed only fourteen of his men, and two of thoſe came up in the evening. For this reaſon he inſcribed his trophies *to Mars, to Victory and Venus*, to ſhew that he was no leſs indebted to good Fortune, than to capacity and valour, for the advantages he had gained. The trophy I am ſpeaking of, was erected for the victory won on the plain, where the troops of Archelaus began to give way, and to fly to the river Molus. The other trophy upon the top of Tharium, in memory of their getting above the Barbarians, was inſcribed in Greek characters *to the valour of Homoloichus and Anaxidamas.*

He exhibited games on this occaſion at Thebes, in a theatre erected for that purpoſe near the fountain of * Oedipus. But the judges were taken from other cities of Greece, by reaſon of the implacable hatred he bore the Thebans. He deprived them of half their territories, which he conſecrated to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter; leaving orders that out of their revenues the money ſhould be repaid which he had taken from their temples.

After this, he received news that Flaccus, who was of the oppoſite faction, was elected conſul, and that he was bringing a great army over the Ionian, in pretence againſt Mithridates, but in reality againſt him. He therefore marched into Theſſaly to meet him. However, when he was arrived at Melitea, intelligence was brought him from ſeveral quarters, that the countries behind him were laid waſte by another army of the king's ſuperior to the former. Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a large fleet, which brought over eighty thouſand men, of the beſt-

* Pauſanias tells us this fountain was ſo called, becauſe Oedipus there waſhed off the blood he was ſtained with in the murder of his father.

beſt-equipped and beſt-diſciplined troops of Mithridates. With theſe he entered Boeotia, and made himſelf maſter of the country, in hopes of drawing Sylla to a battle. Archelaus remonſtrated againſt that meaſure, but Dorylaus was ſo far from regarding him, that he ſcrupled not to aſſert, that ſo many myriads of men could not have been loſt without treachery. But Sylla ſoon turned back, and ſhewed Dorylaus how prudent the advice was which he had rejected, and what a proper ſenſe it's author had of the Roman valour. Indeed, Dorylaus himſelf, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with Sylla at Tilphoſium, was the firſt to agree that action was not the thing to be purſued any longer, but that the war was to be ſpun out, and decided at laſt by dint of money.

However, the plain of Orchomenus, where they were encamped, being moſt advantageous for thoſe whoſe chief ſtrength conſiſted in cavalry, gave freſh ſpirits to Archelaus. For, of all the plains of Boeotia, the largeſt and moſt beautiful, is this, which, without either tree or buſh, extends itſelf from the gates of Orchomenus to the fens in which the river Melas loſes itſelf. That river riſes under the walls of the city juſt mentioned, and is the only Grecian river which is navigable from it's ſource. About the ſummer ſolſtice it overflows like the Nile, and produces plants of the ſame nature; only they are meagre and bear but little fruit. It's courſe is ſhort, great part of it ſoon ſtopping in thoſe dark and muddy fens. The reſt falls into the river Cephiſus, about the place where the water is bordered with ſuch excellent canes for flutes.

The two armies being encamped oppoſite each other, Archelaus attempted not any thing. But Sylla began to cut trenches in ſeveral parts of the field, that he might, if poſſible, drive the enemy from the firm ground, which was ſo ſuitable for cavalry, and force them upon the Moraſſes. The Barbarians could not bear this, but, upon the firſt ſignal

ſignal from their generals, rode up at full ſpeed, and handled the labourers ſo rudely, that they all diſperſed. The corps too, deſigned to ſupport them, was put to flight. Sylla that moment leaped from his horſe, ſeized one of the enſigns, and puſhed through the middle of the fugitives towards the enemy, crying out, "Here, Romans, is the bed of ho-"nour I am to die in. Do you, when you are aſked "where you betrayed your general, remember to "ſay, it was at Orchomenus." Theſe words ſtopped them in their flight: beſides, two cohorts came from the right wing to his aſſiſtance, and at the head of this united corps he repulſed the enemy.

Sylla then drew back a little, to give his troops ſome refreſhment; after which he brought them to work again, intending to draw a line of circumvallation round the Barbarians. Hereupon they returned in better order than before. Diogenes, ſon-in-law to Archelaus, fell glorioufly, as he was performing wonders on the right. Their archers were charged ſo cloſe by the Romans, that they had not room to manage their bows, and therefore took a quantity of arrows in their hands, which they uſed inſtead of ſwords, and with them killed ſeveral of their adverſaries. At laſt, however, they were broken and ſhut up in their camp, where they paſſed the night in great miſery on account of their dead and wounded. Next morning Sylla drew out his men to continue the trench; and as numbers of the Barbarians came out to engage him, he attacked and routed them ſo effectually, that in the terror they were in none ſtood to guard the camp, and he entered it with them. The fens were then filled with the blood of the ſlain, and the lake with dead bodies; inſomuch that even now many of the weapons of the Barbarians, bows, helmets, fragments of iron breaſt-plates, and ſwords, are found buried in the mud, though it is almoſt two hundred years ſince that battle. Such

is the account we have of the actions at Chaeronea and Orchomenus.

Meanwhile Cinna and Carbo behaved with ſo much rigour and injuſtice at Rome to perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, that many, to avoid their tyranny, retired to Sylla's camp, as to a ſafe harbour; ſo that in a little time he had a kind of ſenate about him. Metella with much difficulty ſtole from Rome with his children, and came to tell him that his enemies had burnt his houſe and all his villas, and to intreat him to return home where his help was ſo much wanted. He was much perplexed in his deliberations, neither chuſing to neglect his afflicted country, nor knowing how to go and leave ſuch an important object as the Mithridatic war in ſo unfiniſhed a ſtate, when he was addreſſed by a merchant of Delium, called Archelaus, on the part of the general of that name, who wanted to ſound him about an accommodation, and to treat privately of the conditions of it.

Sylla was ſo charmed with the thing, that he haſtened to a perſonal conference with the general. Their interview was on the ſea-coaſt near Delium, where ſtands a celebrated temple of Apollo. Upon their meeting, Archelaus propoſed that Sylla ſhould quit the Aſiatic and Pontic expedition, and turn his whole attention to the civil war, engaging on the king's behalf to ſupply him with money, veſſels and troops. Sylla propoſed in anſwer, that Archelaus ſhould quit the intereſt of Mithridates, be appointed king in his place, aſſume the title of an ally to the Romans, and put the king's ſhipping in his hands. When Archelaus expreſſed his deteſtation of this treachery, Sylla thus proceeded---"Is it poſſible, "then, that you, Archelaus, a Cappadocian, the "ſlave, or, if you pleaſe, the friend of a barbarous "king, ſhould be ſhocked at a propoſal, which, "however in ſome reſpects exceptionable, muſt be "attended with the moſt advantageous conſequen-

"ces?

"ces? Is it poſſible that to me, the Roman general, "to Sylla, you ſhould take upon you to talk of "treachery?---As if you were not that ſame Arche-"laus, who at Chaeronea fled with a handful of "men, the poor remains of an hundred and twenty "thouſand, who hid himſelf two days in the marſhes "of Orchomenus, and left the roads of Boeotia "blocked up with heaps of dead bodies."---Upon this, Archelaus had recourſe to intreaty, and begged at leaſt a peace for Mithridates. This was allowed upon certain conditions---Mithridates was to give up Aſia and Paphlagonia, cede Bythinia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. He was to allow the Romans two thouſand talents to defray the expence of the war, beſides ſeventy armed galleys fully equipped. Sylla on the other hand was to ſecure Mithridates in the reſt of his dominions, and procure him the title of friend and ally to the Romans.

Theſe conditions being accepted and negotiated, Sylla returned through Theſſaly and Macedonia towards the Helleſpont. Archelaus, who accompanied him, was treated with the greateſt reſpect, and when he happened to fall ſick at Lariſſa, Sylla halted there for ſome time, and ſhewed him all the attention he could have paid to his own general officers or even to his collegue himſelf. This circumſtance rendered the battle of Chaeronea a little ſuſpected, as if it had been gained by unfair means; and what added to the ſuſpicion, was the reſtoring of all the priſoners of Mithridates except Ariſtion, the avowed enemy of Archelaus, who was taken off by poiſon. But what confirmed the whole, was the ceſſion of ten thouſand acres in Euboea to the Cappadocian, and the title that was given him of friend and ally to the Romans. Sylla, however, in his commentaries obviates all theſe cenſures.

During his ſtay at Lariſſa he received an embaſſy from Mithridates, intreating him not to inſiſt upon his giving up Paphlagonia, and repreſenting that the

demand of ſhipping was inadmiſſible. Sylla heard theſe remonſtrances with indignation---"What," ſaid he, "does Mithridates pretend to keep Paphla-"gonia, and refuſe to ſend the veſſels I demanded? "Mithridates, whom I ſhould have expected to in-"treat me on his knees that I would ſpare that right "hand which has ſlain ſo many Romans---But I am "ſatisfied that, when I return into Aſia, he will "change his ſtyle. While he reſides at Pergamus, "he can direct at eaſe the war he has not ſeen." The ambaſſadors were ſtruck dumb with this indignant anſwer, while Archelaus endeavoured to ſoothe and appeaſe the anger of Sylla, by every mitigating expreſſion and bathing his hand with his tears. At length he prevailed on the Roman general to ſend him to Mithridates, aſſuring him that he would obtain his conſent to all the articles, or periſh in the attempt.

Sylla upon this aſſurance diſmiſſed him, and invaded Medica, where he committed great depredations, and then returned to Macedonia. He received Archelaus at Philippi, who informed him that he had ſucceeded perfectly well in his negotiation, but that Mithridates was extremely deſirous of an interview. His reaſon for it was this: Fimbria, who had ſlain the conſul Flaccus, one of the heads of the oppoſite faction, and defeated the king's generals, was now marching againſt Mithridates himſelf. Mithridates alarmed at this, wanted to form a friendſhip with Sylla.

Their interview was at Dardanus in the country of Troas. Mithridates came with two hundred galleys, an army of twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and a great number of armed chariots. Sylla had no more than four cohorts and two hundred horſe. Mithridates came forward, and offered him his hand, but Sylla firſt aſked him, "whether he would ſtand "to the conditions that Archelaus had ſettled with "him?" The king heſitated upon it, and Sylla then

ſaid,

ſaid, "It is for petitioners to ſpeak firſt, and for "conquerors to hear in ſilence." Mithridaets then began a long harangue, in which he endeavoured to apologize for himſelf by throwing the blame partly upon the gods and partly upon the Romans. At length Sylla interrupted him---"I have often," ſaid he, "heard that Mithridates was a good orator, but "now I know it by experience, ſince he has been "able to give a colour to ſuch unjuſt and abomina-"ble deeds."---Then he ſet forth in bitter terms, and in ſuch a manner as could not be replied to, the king's ſhameful conduct, and in concluſion aſked him again, "Whether he would abide by the conditions "ſettled with Archelaus?" Upon his anſwering in the affirmative, Sylla took him in his arms and ſaluted him. Then he preſented to him the two kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and reconciled them to each other.

Mithridates, having delivered up to him ſeventy of his ſhips and five hundred Archers, ſailed back to Pontus. Sylla perceived that his troops were much offended at the peace: they thought it an inſufferable thing, that a prince who, of all the kings in the univerſe, was the bittereſt enemy to Rome; who had cauſed an hundred and fifty thouſand Romans to be murdered in Aſia in one day, ſhould go off with the wealth and ſpoils of Aſia, which he had been plundering and oppreſſing full four years. But he excuſed himſelf to them by obſerving that he ſhould never have been able to carry on the war againſt both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had joined their forces.

From thence he marched againſt Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira; and having marked out a camp very near him, he began upon the entrenchment. The ſoldiers of Fimbria came out in their veſts, and ſaluted thoſe of Sylla, and readily aſſiſted them in their work. Fimbria ſeeing this deſertion,

and withal dreading Sylla as an implacable enemy, dispatched himself upon the spot.

Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents; and beside this, the houses of private persons were ruined by the insolence and disorder of the soldiers he quartered upon them. For he commanded every housholder to give the soldier who lodged with him sixteen drachmas a day, and to provide a supper for him and as many friends as he chose to invite. A centurion was to have fifty drachmas a day, and one dress to wear within doors, and another in public.

These things settled, he set sail from Ephesus with his whole fleet, and reached the harbour of Piraeus the third day. At Athens he got himself initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, and from that city he took with him the library of Apellicon the Teian, in which were most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, books at that time not sufficiently known to the world. When they were brought to Rome, it is said that Tyrannio the grammarian * prepared many of them for publication, and that Andronicus the Rhodian, getting the manuscripts by his means, did actually publish them, together with those indexes that are now in everybody's hands. The old peripatetics appear indeed to have been men of curiosity and erudition; but they had neither met with many of Aristotle's and Theophrastus's books, nor were those they did meet with correct copies; because the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Theophrastus left his works, fell into mean and obscure hands.

During Sylla's stay at Athens, he felt a painful numbness in his feet, which Strabo calls the *lisping of the*

* The Latin interpreter renders ενσκευασασθαι *intervertisse*, and Dacier *détourna*, both which signify *converted to his own use*. But they are certainly wrong. Αποσκευασασθαι has that sense. Besides, Cicero and Strabo give Tyrannio a character that sets him above any meanness.

the gout. This obliged him to ſail to Aedepſus, for the benefit of the warm baths, where he lounged away the day with mimics and buffoons and all the train of Bacchus. One day as he was walking by the ſea-ſide, ſome fiſhermen preſented him with a curious diſh of fiſh. Delighted with the preſent, he aſked the people of what country they were, and when he heard they were Alaeans, "What," ſaid he, "are "any of the Alaeans then alive?" for in purſuance of his victory at Orchomenus, he had razed three cities of Boeotia, Anthedon, Larymna and Alaeae. The poor men were ſtruck dumb with fear, but he told them with a ſmile, "they might go away "quite happy, for they had brought very reſpectable "mediators with them." The Alaeans tell us, that from that time they took courage, and reeſtabliſhed themſelves in their old habitations.

Sylla, now recovered, paſſed through Theſſaly and Macedonia to the ſea, intending to croſs over from Dyrrachium to Brunduſium with a fleet of twelve hundred ſail. In that neighbourhood ſtands Apollonia, near which is a remarkable ſpot of ground called Nymphaeum *. The lawns and meadows are of incomparable verdure, though interſperſed with ſprings from which continually iſſues fire. In this place, we are told, a ſatyr was taken aſleep, exactly ſuch as ſtatuaries and painters repreſent to us. He was brought to Sylla, and interrogated in many languages who he was; but he uttered nothing intelligible; his accent being harſh and inarticulate, ſomething between the neighing of a horſe and the bleating of a goat. Sylla was ſhocked with his appearance and ordered him to be taken out of his preſence.

When he was upon the point of embarking with his troops, he began to be afraid, that as ſoon as they

* In this place the nymphs had an oracle, of the manner of conſulting which Dion (l. 41.) tells us ſeveral ridiculous ſtories. Strabo ſpeaking of it in his ſeventh book, tells us the Nymphaeum is a rock, out of which iſſues fire, and that beneath it flow ſtreams of flaming bitumen.

they reached Italy, they would diſperſe and retire to their reſpective cities. Hereupon they came to him of their own accord, and took an oath that they would ſtand by him to the laſt, and not wilfully do any damage to Italy. And as they ſaw he would want large ſums of money, they went and collected each as much as they could afford, and brought it him. He did not, however, receive their contribution, but having thanked them for their attachment, and encouraged them to hope the beſt, he ſet ſail. He had to go, as he himſelf tells us, againſt fifteen generals of the other party, who had under them no leſs than two hundred and fifty cohorts. But heaven gave him evident tokens of ſucceſs. He ſacrificed immediately upon his landing at Tarentum, and the liver of the victim had the plain * impreſſion of a crown of laurel, with two ſtrings hanging down. A little before his paſſage, there were ſeen in the day-time upon mount Hephaeum † in Campania two great he-goats engaged, which uſed all the movements that men do in fighting. The phaenomenon raiſed itſelf by degrees from the earth into the air, where it diſperſed itſelf in the manner of ſhadowy phantoms, and quite diſappeared.

A little after this, young Marius, and Norbanus the conſul, with two very powerful bodies, preſumed to attack Sylla; who without any regular diſpoſition of his troops, or order of battle, by the mere valour and impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, after having ſlain ſeven thouſand of the enemy, obliged Norbanus to ſeek a refuge within the walls of Capua. This ſucceſs he mentions as the cauſe why his ſoldiers did not deſert but deſpiſed the enemy, though greatly ſuperior in numbers. He tells us, moreover, that an

* The prieſts traced the figures they wanted upon the liver, on their hands, and by holding it very cloſe, eaſily made the impreſſion upon it while it was warm and pliant.

† There is no ſuch mountain as Hephaeum known. Livy mentions the hills of Tifata near Capua.

an enthuſiaſtic ſervant of Pontius in the town of Silvium announced him victorious, upon the communicated authority of Bellona, but informed him at the ſame time, that if he did not haſten, the capitol would be burnt---This actually happened on the day predicted, which was the ſixth of July. About this time it was that Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's officers, who had no more than ſixteen cohorts under his command, found himſelf on the point of engageing an enemy who had fifty: though he had the utmoſt confidence in the valour of his troops, yet as many of them were without arms, he was doubtful about the onſet. While he was deliberating about the matter, a gentle breeze bore from a neighbouring field a quantity of flowers that fell on the ſhields and helmets of the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner that they appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumſtance had ſuch an effect upon them,* that they charged the enemy with double vigour and courage, killed eighteen thouſand, and became complete maſters of the field, and of the camps. This Marcus Lucullus was brother to that Lucullus who afterwards conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

Sylla ſtill ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with armies and powerful enemies, to whom he was inferior in point of force, and therefore had recourſe to fraud. He made Scipio, one of the conſuls, ſome propoſals for an accommodation, upon which many interviews and conferences enſued. But Sylla always finding ſome pretence for gaining time, was corrupting Scipio's ſoldiers all the wdile by means of his own, who were as

* The uſe that the ancient Romans as well as Greeks made of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, in war particularly, was ſo great, and ſo frequent, that it appears to take off much from the idea of their native courage and valour. The ſlighteſt circumſtance, as in the improbable inſtance referred to, of a preternatural kind, or bearing the leaſt ſhadow of a religious ceremony, would animate them to thoſe exploits, which, though a rational valour was certainly capable of effecting them, without ſuch influence they would never have undertaken.

as well practiſed as their general in every art of ſollicitation. They entered their adverſaries camp, and, mixing among them, ſoon gained them over, ſome by money, ſome by fair promiſes, and others by the moſt inſinuating adulation. At laſt Sylla advancing to their entrenchments with twenty cohorts, Scipio's men ſaluted them as fellow-ſoldiers, and came out and joined them; ſo that Scipio was left alone in his tent, where he was taken, but immediately after diſmiſſed in ſafety. Theſe twenty cohorts were Sylla's decoy-birds, by which he drew forty more into his net, and then brought them all together into his camp. On this occaſion Carbo is reported to have ſaid, that in Sylla he had to contend both with a fox and a lion, but the fox gave him the moſt trouble.

The year following young Marius being conſul and at the head of fourſcore cohorts, gave Sylla the challenge. Sylla was very ready to accept it that day in particular, on account of a dream he had the night before. He thought he ſaw old Marius, who had now been long dead, adviſing his ſon to beware of the enſuing day, as big with miſchief to him. This made Sylla impatient for the combat. The firſt ſtep he took towards it was to ſend for Dolabella, who was encamped at ſome diſtance. The enemy had blocked up the roads; and Sylla's troops were much harraſſed in endeavouring to open them. Beſides, a violent rain happened to fall, and ſtill more incommoded them in their work. Hereupon, the officers went and intreated Sylla to defer the battle 'till another day, ſhewing him how his men were beaten out with fatigue, and ſeated upon the ground with their ſhields under them. Sylla yielded to their arguments, though with great reluctance, and gave them orders to entrench themſelves.

They were juſt begun to put thoſe orders in execution, when Marius rode boldly up, in hopes of finding them diſperſed and in great diſorder. Fortune ſeized this moment for accompliſhing Sylla's dream.

dream. His ſoldiers, fired with indignation, left their work, ſtuck their pikes in the trench, and with drawn ſwords and loud ſhouts ran to the charge. The enemy made but a ſlight reſiſtance; they were routed, and vaſt numbers ſlain in their flight. Marius himſelf fled to Praeneſte where he found the gates ſhut; but a rope was let down, to which he faſtened himſelf, and ſo he was taken up over the wall.

Some authors, indeed, write, and among the reſt Feneſtella, that Marius ſaw nothing of the battle, but that being oppreſſed with watching and fatigue, he laid himſelf down in a ſhade, after the ſignal was given, and was not waked without difficulty when all was loſt. Sylla ſays, he loſt only three and twenty men in this battle, though he killed ten thouſand of the enemy, and took eight thouſand priſoners. He was equally ſucceſsful with reſpect to his lieutenants Pompey, Craſſus, Metellus, Servilius, who without any miſcarriage at all, or with none of any conſequence, defeated great and powerful armies; inſomuch that Carbo, who was the chief ſupport of the oppoſite party, ſtole out of his camp by night, and paſſed over into Africa.

The laſt conflict Sylla had, was with Teleſinus the Samnite, who entered the liſts like a freſh champion againſt one that was weary, and was near throwing him at the very gates of Rome. Teleſinus had collected a great body of forces, with the aſſiſtance of a Lucanian named Lamponius, and was haſtening to the relief of Marius who was beſieged in Praeneſte. But he got intelligence that Sylla and Pompey were advancing againſt him by long marches, the one to take him in front, and the other in rear, and that he was in the utmoſt danger of being hemmed in both before and behind. In this caſe, like a man of great abilities and experience of the moſt critical kind, he decamped by night, and marched with his whole army directly towards Rome; which was in ſo unguarded

unguarded a condition, that he might have entered it without difficulty. But he ſtopped when he was only ten furlongs from the Colline gate, and contented himſelf with paſſing the night before the walls, greatly encouraged and elevated at the thought of having outdone ſo many great commanders in point of generalſhip.

Early next morning the young nobility mounted their horſes, and fell upon him. he defeated them, and killed a conſiderable number; among the reſt fell Appius Claudius, a young man of ſpirit, and of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome. The city was now full of terror and confuſion---the women ran about the ſtreets, bewailing themſelves, as if it was juſt going to be taken by aſſault---when Balbus, who was ſent before by Sylla, appeared advancing at full ſpeed with ſeven hundred horſe. He ſtopped juſt long enough to give his horſes time to cool, and then bridled them again, and proceeded to keep the enemy in play.

In the mean time Sylla made his appearance, and having cauſed his firſt ranks to take a ſpeedy refreſhment, he began to put them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus preſſed him to wait ſome time, and not lead his men in that fatigued condition to an engagement that muſt prove deciſive. For he had not now to do with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the moſt inveterate enemies to the Roman name. However, he overruled their motion, and ordered the trumpets to ſound to the charge, though it was now ſo late as the tenth hour of the day. There was no battle during the whole war fought with ſuch obſtinacy as this. The right wing, commanded by Craſſus, had greatly the advantage; but the left was much diſtreſſed, and began to give way. Sylla made up to it's aſſiſtance. He rode a white horſe of uncommon ſpirit and ſwiftneſs; and two of the enemy, knowing him by it, levelled their ſpears at him. He himſelf perceived it not, but

but his groom did, and with a ſudden laſh made the horſe ſpring forward, ſo that the ſpears only grazed his tail, and fixed themſelves in the ground. It is ſaid that in all his battles he wore in his boſom, a ſmall golden image of Apollo which he brought from Delphi. On this occaſion he *kiſſed it with particular devotion, and addreſſed it in theſe terms--- "O Pythian Apollo, who haſt conducted the fortu- "nate Cornelius Sylla through ſo many engagements "with honour; when thou haſt brought him to the "threſhold of his country, wilt thou let him fall "there inglorious by the hands of his own citi- "zens?"

After this act of devotion, Sylla endeavoured to rally his men: ſome he intreated, ſome he threatened, and others he forced back to the charge. But at length his whole left wing was routed, and he was obliged to mix with the fugitives to regain his camp, after having loſt many of his friends of the higheſt diſtinction. A good number, too, of thoſe who came out of the city to ſee the battle, were troden under foot and periſhed. Nay, Rome itſelf was thought to be abſolutely loſt; and the ſiege of Praeneſte, where Marius had taken up his quarters, near being raiſed. For after the defeat many of the fugitives repaired thither, and deſired Lucretius Oſella, who had the direction of the ſiege, to quit it immediately, becauſe (they ſaid) Sylla was ſlain, and his enemies maſters of Rome.

But the ſame evening, when it was quite dark, there came perſons to Sylla's camp, on the part of Craſſus, to deſire refreſhments for him and his ſoldiers. For he had defeated the enemy, and purſued them to Antemna, where he was ſate down to beſiege them. Along with this news, Sylla was informed, that the greateſt part of the enemy was cut off in the action.

* By this it appears, that the heathens made the ſame uſe of the images of their gods, which the Romaniſts do of images and reliques.

action. As ſoon, therefore, as it was day, he repaired to Antemna. There three thouſand of the other faction ſent deputies to him to intercede for mercy; and he promiſed them impunity, on condition they would come to him after ſome notable ſtroke againſt the reſt of his enemies. Confiding in his honour, they fell upon another corps, and thus many of them were ſlain by the hands of their fellow-ſoldiers. Sylla, however, collected theſe, and what was left of the others, to the number of ſix thouſand, into the Circus; and at the ſame time aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of Bellona. The moment he began his harangue, his ſoldiers, as they had been ordered, fell upon thoſe ſix thouſand poor wretches, and cut them in pieces. The cry of ſuch a number of people maſſacred in a place of no great extent, as may well be imagined, was very dreadful. The ſenators were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. But he with a firm and unaltered countenance continuing his diſcourſe, "bade them attend to what he was ſaying, and not "trouble themſelves about what was doing without; "for the noiſe they heard, came only from ſome "malefactors, whom he had ordered to be chaſti-"ſed."

It was evident from hence to the leaſt diſcerning among the Romans, that they were not delivered from tyranny; they had only changed their tyrant. Marius, indeed, from the firſt was of a harſh and ſevere diſpoſition, and power did not produce, it only added to his cruelty. But Sylla, at the beginning, bore proſperity with great moderation; though he ſeemed more attached to the patricians, it was thought he would protect the rights of the people; he had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been ſo compaſſionate that he often melted into tears. This change in him, therefore, could not but caſt a blemiſh upon power. On his account it was believed, that high honours and fortunes will not ſuffer men's manners to remain in their original ſimplicity, but that

that it begets in them inſolence, arrogance and inhumanity. Whether power does really produce ſuch a change of diſpoſition, or whether it only diſplays the native badneſs of heart, belongs however to another department of letters to enquire.

Sylla now turning himſelf to kill and to deſtroy, filled the city with maſſacres which had neither number nor bounds. He even gave up many perſons againſt whom he had no complaint, to the private revenge of his creatures. At laſt one of the young nobility, named Caius Metellus, ventured to put theſe queſtions to him in the ſenate---"Tell us, Sylla, "when we ſhall have an end of our calamities? how "far thou wilt proceed, and when we may hope thou "wilt ſtop? We aſk thee not to ſpare thoſe whom "thou haſt marked out for puniſhment, but we aſk "an exemption from anxiety for thoſe whom thou "haſt determined to ſave." Sylla ſaid, "he did not "yet know whom he ſhould ſave." "Then," replied Metellus, "let us know whom thou intendeſt to de-"ſtroy;" and Sylla anſwered, "he would do it." Some, indeed, aſcribe the laſt reply to Auſidius, one of Sylla's flatterers.

Immediately upon this, he proſcribed eighty citizens, without conſulting any of the magiſtrates in the leaſt. And as the public expreſſed their indignation at this, the ſecond day after he proſcribed two hundred and twenty more, and as many on the third. Then he told the people from the Roſtrum, "he "had now proſcribed all that he remembered; and "ſuch as he had forgot, muſt come into ſome future "proſcription." Death was the puniſhment he ordained for any one who ſhould harbour or ſave a perſon proſcribed, without excepting a brother, a ſon, or a parent. Such was to be the reward of humanity. But two talents were to be the reward of murder, whether it were a ſlave that killed his maſter, or a ſon his father. The moſt unjuſt circumſtance, however, of all, ſeemed to be, that he declared the ſons

and grandſons of proſcribed perſons infamous, and confiſcated their goods.

The liſts were put up not only at Rome, but in all the cities of Italy. Neither temple of the gods, nor paternal dwelling, nor hearth of hoſpitality, was any protection againſt murder. Huſbands were diſpatched in the boſoms of their wives, and ſons in thoſe of their mothers. And the ſacrifices to reſentment and revenge, were nothing to thoſe who fell on account of their wealth. So that it was a common ſaying among the ruffians, "His fine houſe was the "death of ſuch a one, his gardens of another, and "his hot baths of a third." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man, who thought he could have no ſhare in theſe miſeries, but that which compaſſion gave him, came one day into the forum, and out of curioſity read the names of the proſcribed. Finding his own, however, among the reſt, he cried out, "Wretch "that I am! my Alban villa purſues me:" and he had not gone far before a ruffian came up and killed him.

In the mean time young Marius being *taken, ſlew himſelf. Sylla then came to Praeneſte, where at firſt he tried the inhabitants and had them executed ſingly. But afterwards finding he had not leiſure for ſuch formalities, he collected them to the number of twelve thouſand, and ordered them to be put to death, excepting only one who had formerly entertained him at his houſe. This man with a noble ſpirit told him, "he would never owe his life to the "deſtroyer of his country;" and voluntarily mixing with the crowd, he died with his fellow-citizens. The ſtrangeſt, however, of all his proceedings was that with reſpect to Catiline. This wretch had killed his own brother during the civil war, and now he deſired Sylla to put him among the proſcribed, as a perſon

* He was not taken; but as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape by a ſubterraneous paſſage, he found it beſet by Sylla's ſoldiers; whereupon he ordered one of his ſlaves to kill him.

perſon ſtill alive; which he made no difficulty of doing. Catiline in return went and killed one Marcus Marius who was of the oppoſite faction, brought his head to Sylla, as he ſate upon his tribunal in the forum, and then waſhed his hands in the * luſtral water at the door of Apollo's temple, which was juſt by.

Theſe maſſacres were not the only thing that afflicted the Romans. He declared himſelf dictator, reviving that office in his own favour, though there had been no inſtance of it for an hundred and twenty years. He got a decree of amneſty for all he had done: and, as to the future, it inveſted him with power of life and death, of confiſcating, of coloniziug, of building or demoliſhing cities, of giving or taking away kingdoms at his pleaſure. He exerciſed his power in ſuch an inſolent and deſpotic manner with regard to confiſcated goods, that his applications of them from the tribunal were more intolerable than the confiſcations themſelves. He gave to handſome proſtitutes, to harpers, to buffoons, and to the moſt wicked of his enfranchiſed ſlaves the revenues of whole cities and provinces, and compelled women of condition to marry ſome of thoſe ruffians.

He was deſirous of an alliance with Pompey the great, and made him divorce the wife he had, in order to his marrying Aemilia, the daughter of Scaurus by his own wife Metella, though he had to force her from Manius Glabrio by whom ſhe was pregnant. The young lady, however, died in childbed in the houſe of Pompey her ſecond huſband.

Lucretius Ofella, who had beſieged Marius in Praeneſte, now aſpired to the conſulſhip, and prepared to ſue for it. Sylla forbad him to proceed;

* Here is another inſtance of a heathen cuſtom adopted by the Romaniſts. An excluſion from the uſe of this holy water was conſidered by the Greeks as a ſort of excommunication. We find Oedipus prohibiting it to the murderers of Laius.

SOPHOC. Oedip. Act ii. ſc. i.

and when he ſaw that in confidence of his intereſt with the people he appeared notwithſtanding in public as a candidate, he ſent one of the centurions who attended him, to diſpatch that brave man, while he himſelf ſate on his tribunal in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, and looked down upon the murder. The people ſeized the centurion, and brought him with loud complaints before Sylla. He commanded ſilence, and told them the thing was done by his order; the centurion therefore was to be diſmiſſed immediately.

About this time he led up his triumph, which was magnificent for the diſplay of wealth, and of the royal ſpoils which were a new ſpectacle; but that which crowned all, was the proceſſion of the exiles. Some of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt powerful of the citizens followed the chariot, and called Sylla their ſaviour and father, becauſe by his means it was that they returned to their country, and were reſtored to their wives and children. When the triumph was over, he gave an account of his great actions in a ſet ſpeech to the people, and was no leſs particular in relating the inſtances of his good fortune, than thoſe of his valour. He even concluded with an order that for the future he ſhould be called Felix (that is, the fortunate). But in writing to the Grecians, and in his anſwers to their applications, he took the additional name of Epaphroditus (*the favourite of Venus*). The inſcription upon the trophies left among us, is, Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus. And to the twins he had by Metella, he gave the names of Fauſtus and Fauſta, which in the Roman language ſignify *auſpicious* and *happy*.

A ſtill ſtronger proof of his placing more confidence in his good fortune, than in his atchievements, was his laying down the dictatorſhip. After he had put an infinite number of people to death, broke in upon the conſtitution, and changed the form of government, he had the hardineſs to leave the people

full

full power to chuſe conſuls again; while he himſelf, without pretending to any direction of their ſuffrages, walked about the Forum as a private man, and put it in the power of any perſon to take his life. In the firſt election he had the mortification to ſee his enemy Marcus Lepidus, a bold and enterpriſing man, declared conſul, not by his own intereſt, but by that of Pompey, who on this occaſion exerted himſelf with the people. And when he ſaw Pompey going off happy in his victory, he called him to him, and ſaid, "No doubt, young man, your politics are "very excellent, ſince you have preferred Lepidus "to Catulus, the worſt and moſt ſtupid of men to "the beſt. It is high time, to awake and be upon "your guard, now you have ſtrengthened your ad-"verſary againſt yourſelf." Sylla ſpoke this from ſomething like a prophetic ſpirit; for Lepidus ſoon acted with the utmoſt inſolence, as Pompey's declared enemy.

Sylla gave the people a magnificent entertainment, on account of his dedicating the tenths of his ſubſtance to Hercules. The proviſions were ſo over-abundant, that a great quantity was thrown every day into the river; and the wine that was drank, was forty years old at leaſt. In the midſt of this feaſting which laſted many days, Metella ſickened and died. As the prieſts forbad him to approach her, and to have his houſe defiled with mourning, he ſent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another houſe while the breath was in her body. His ſuperſtition made him very punctilious in obſerving theſe laws of the prieſts; but by giving into the utmoſt profuſions he tranſgreſſed a law of his own, which limited the expence of funerals. He broke in upon his own ſumptuary law too, with reſpect to diet, by paſſing his time in the moſt extravagant banquets, and having recourſe to debauches to combat anxiety.

A few months after he preſented the people with a ſhow of gladiators. And as at that time men and women had no ſeparate places, but ſate promiſcuouſly in the theatre, a woman of great beauty, and of one of the beſt families, happened to ſit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Meſſala, and ſiſter to the orator Hortenſius; her name Valeria; and ſhe had lately been divorced from her huſband. This woman, coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then returned to her place. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity; when ſhe ſaid, "Wonder not, my lord, "at what I have done; I had only a mind to ſhare "a little in your good fortune." Sylla was far from being diſpleaſed; on the contrary it appeared that he was flattered very agreeably. For he ſent to aſk her name, and to enquire into her family and character. Then followed an exchange of amorous regards and ſmiles; which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame. But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation and great accompliſhments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with ſoft looks, and languiſhing airs, things that are wont to excite the loweſt of the paſſions.

Yet, notwithſtanding he had married ſo extraordinary a woman, he continued his commerce with actreſſes and female muſicians, and ſate drinking whole days with a parcel of buffoons about him. His chief favourites at this time were Roſcius the comedian, Sorex, the mimic, and Metrobius who uſed to act a woman's part; * * *

to cleah him, the part taken away was nothing to that which remained. His whole attire, his baths, his baſons and his food were filled with that perpetual flux of vermin and corruption. And though he bathed many times a day, to cleanſe and purify himſelf; it was in vain. The corruption came on ſo faſt, that it was impoſſible to overcome it.

We are told, that among the ancients, Acaſtus, the ſon of Pelias, died of this ſickneſs; and of thoſe that come nearer our times, Alcman the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Calliſthenes the Olynthian who was kept in cloſe priſon, and Mucius the lawyer. And if after theſe we may take notice of a man who did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by any thing laudable, but was noted another way, it may be mentioned, that the fugitive ſlave Eunus, who kindled up the *Servile* war in Sicily, and was afterwards taken and carried to Rome, died there of this diſeaſe.

Sylla not only foreſaw his death, but has left ſomething relating to it in his writings. He finiſhed the twenty-ſecond book of his commentaries only two days before he died: and he tells us, that the Chaldeans had predicted, that after a life of glory he would depart in the height of his proſperity. He farther acquaints us, that his ſon who died a little before Metella, appeared to him in a dream, dreſſed in a mean garment, and deſired him to bid adieu to his cares, and go along with him to his mother Metella, with whom he ſhould live with eaſe, and enjoy the charms of tranquility. He did not, however, withdraw his attention from public affairs. It was but ten days before his death that he reconciled the contending parties at * Puteoli, and gave them a ſet of laws for the regulation of their police. And the very day before he died, upon information that the quaeſtor Granius would not pay what he was indebted to the ſtate, but waited for his death to avoid paying it at all, he ſent for him into his apartment, planted his ſervants about him, and ordered

* In the Greek *Dicaearchia*, which is another name for *Puteoli*.

them to ſtrangle him. The violence with which he ſpoke, ſtrained him ſo much, that the impoſtume broke, and he voided a vaſt quantity of blood. His ſtrength now failed faſt, and, after he had paſſed the night in great agonies, he expired. He left two young children by Metella; and Valeria, after his death, was delivered of a daughter called *Poſthuma*; a name given of courſe by the Romans to ſuch as are born after the death of their father.

Many of Sylla's enemies now combined with Lepidus, to prevent his having the uſual honours of burial. But Pompey, though he was ſomewhat diſpleaſed at Sylla, becauſe, of all his friends, he had left him only out of his will, in this caſe interpoſed his authority; and prevailed upon ſome by his intereſt and intreaties, and on others by menaces, to drop their oppoſition. Then he conveyed the body to Rome, and conducted the whole funeral; not only with ſecurity, but with honour. Such was the quantity of ſpices brought in by the women, that excluſive of thoſe carried in two hundred and ten great baſkets, a figure of Sylla at full length, and of a *Lictor* beſides, was made entirely of cinnamon and the choiceſt frankincenſe. The day happened to be ſo cloudy, and the rain was ſo much expected, that it was about the † ninth hour before the corpſe was carried out. However, it was no ſooner laid upon the pile, than a briſk wind blew, and raiſed ſo ſtrong a flame, that it was conſumed immediately. But after the pile was burnt down, and the fire began to die out, a great rain fell which laſted 'till night. So that his good Fortune continued to the laſt, and aſſiſted at his funeral. His monument ſtands in the Campus Martius: and they tell us he wrote an epitaph for himſelf to this purport, "No friend ever "did me ſo much good, or enemy ſo much harm, "but I repaid him with intereſt."

† Three in the afternoon.

LYSANDER *and* SYLLA, *compared.*

WE have now gone through the life of Sylla, and will proceed to the compariſon. This, then, Lyſander and he have in common, that they were entirely indebted to themſelves for their riſe. But Lyſander has this advantage, that the high offices he gained were with the conſent of the people, while the conſtitution of his country was in a ſound and healthy ſtate; and that he got nothing by force or by acting againſt the laws---

In civil broils the worſt of men may riſe.

So it was then in Rome. The people were ſo corrupt, and the republic in ſo ſickly a condition, that tyrants ſprung up on every ſide. Nor is it any wonder if Sylla gained the aſcendant, at a time when wretches like Glaucias and Saturninus expelled ſuch men as Metellus, when the ſons of conſuls were murdered in the public aſſemblies, when men ſupported their ſeditious purpoſes with ſoldiers purchaſed with money, and laws were enacted with fire and ſword and every ſpecies of violence.*

In ſuch a ſtate of things, I do not blame the man who raiſed himſelf to ſupreme power; all I ſay is,

* We need no other inſtances than this to ſhew that a republican government will never do in corrupt times.

is, that when the commonwealth was in ſo depraved and deſperate a condition, power was no evidence of merit. But ſince the laws and public virtue never flouriſhed more at Sparta, than when Lyſander was ſent upon the higheſt and moſt important commiſſions, we may conclude that he was the beſt among the virtuous, and firſt among the great. Thus the one, though he often ſurrendered the command, had it as often reſtored to him by his fellow-citizens, becauſe his virtue, which alone has a claim to the prize of honour, continued ſtill the ſame *. The other, after he was once appointed general, uſurped the command, and kept in arms for ten years, ſometimes ſtiling himſelf conſul, ſometimes proconſul, and ſometimes dictator, but was always in reality a tyrant.

It is true, as we have obſerved above, Lyſander did attempt a change in the Spartan conſtitution, but he took a milder and more legal method than Sylla. It was by perſuaſion †, not by arms, he proceeded; nor did he attempt to overturn every thing at once. He only wanted to correct the eſtabliſhment as to kings. And indeed it ſeemed natural that in a ſtate which had the ſupreme direction of Greece, on account of it's virtue rather than any other ſuperiority, merit ſhould gain the ſceptre. For as the hunter and the jockey do not ſo much conſider the breed, as the dog or horſe already bred (for what if the foal ſhould prove a mule?) ſo the politician would entirely miſs his aim, if inſtead of enquiring into the qualities of a perſon for firſt magiſtrate, he looked upon nothing but his family. Thus the Spartans depoſed ſome of their kings, becauſe they had not princely talents, but

* What kind of virtue can Plutarch poſſibly aſcribe to Lyſander?—Unleſs he means military virtue—Undoubtedly he was a man of the greateſt duplicity of character, of the greateſt profaneneſs—For he corrupted the prieſts and proſtituted the honour of the gods, to gratify his perſonal envy and ambition.

† It was by hypocriſy, by profane and impious expedients.

but were perſons of no worth or conſequence. Vice even with high birth, is diſhonourable: and the honour which virtue enjoys, is all her own; family has no ſhare in it,

They were both guilty of injuſtice, but Lyſander *for* his friends, and Sylla *againſt* his. Moſt of Lyſander's frauds were committed for his creatures, and it was to advance to high ſtations and abſolute power that he dipped his hands in ſo much blood: whereas Sylla envied Pompey the army, and Dolabella the naval command he had given them; and he attempted to take them away. And when Lucretius Oſella after the greateſt and moſt faithful ſervices, ſollicited the conſulſhip, he ordered him to be diſpatched before his eyes. Terror and diſmay ſeized all the world, when they ſaw one of his beſt friends thus murdered.

If we conſider their behaviour with reſpect to riches and pleaſure, we ſhall find the one the prince, and the other the tyrant. When the power and authority of Lyſander were ſo extenſive, he was not guilty of one act of intemperance or youthful diſſipation. He, if any man, avoided the ſting of that proverb, *Lions within doors, and foxes without.* So ſober, ſo regular, ſo worthy of a Spartan, was his manner of living. Sylla, on the other hand, neither let poverty ſet bounds to his paſſions in his youth, nor years in his age. But as Saluſt ſays, while he was giving his countrymen laws for the regulation of marriages and for promoting ſobriety, he indulged himſelf in adultery and every ſpecies of luſt.

By his debaucheries he ſo drained the public treaſures, that he was obliged to let many cities in alliance and friendſhip with Rome purchaſe independence and the privilege of being governed only by their own laws; though at the ſame time he was daily confiſcating the richeſt and beſt houſes in Rome. Still more immenſe were the ſums he ſquandered upon his flatterers. Indeed, what bounds or moderation could be expected in his private gifts, when his heart was

dilated

dilated with wine, if we do but attend to one inſtance of his behaviour in public? One day as he was ſelling a conſiderable eſtate, which he wanted a friend to have at an under-price, another offered more, and the crier proclaiming the advance he turned with indignation to the people, and ſaid, "What "outrage and tyranny is this, my friends, that I "am not allowed to diſpoſe of my own ſpoils as I "pleaſe?

Far from ſuch rapaciouſneſs, Lyſander, to the ſpoils he ſent his countrymen, added his own ſhare. Not that I praiſe him in that: for perhaps he hurt Sparta more eſſentially by the money he brought into it, than Sylla did Rome by that which he took from it. I only mention it as a proof of the little regard he had for riches. It was ſomething very particular, however, that Sylla, while he abandoned himſelf to all the profuſion of luxury and expence, ſhould bring the Romans to ſobriety; whereas Lyſander ſubjected the Spartans to thoſe paſſions which he reſtrained in himſelf. The former acted worſe than his own laws directed, and the other brought his people to act worſe than himſelf: for he filled Sparta with the love of that which he knew how to deſpiſe. Such they were in their political capacity.

As to military atchievements and acts of generalſhip, the number of victories and the dangers he had to combat, Sylla is beyond compariſon. Lyſander, indeed, gained two naval victories; to which we may add his taking of Athens; for, though that affair was not difficult in the execution, it was glorious in it's conſequences. As to his miſcarriage in Boeotia and at Haliartus, ill Fortune, perhaps, had ſome concern in it, but it was principally owing to indiſcretion; ſince he would not wait for the great reinforcement which the king was bringing from Plataeae, and which was upon the point of joining him, but with an ill-timed reſentment and ambition marched up to the walls. Hence it was, that he was ſlain by ſome

ſome troops of no conſideration, who ſallied out to the attack. He fell not as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, who was ſlain as he was making head againſt an impetuous enemy, not like Cyrus, or Epaminondas, who received a mortal wound as he was rallying his men and enſuring to them the victory. Theſe great men died the death of generals and kings. But Lyſander threw away his life ingloriouſly like a common ſoldier or deſperate adventurer. By his death he ſhewed how right the ancient Spartans were in not chuſing to fight againſt ſtone-walls, where the braveſt man in the world may be killed, I will not ſay by an inſignificant man, but by a child or a woman. So Achilles is ſaid to have been ſlain by Paris at the gates of Troy. On the other hand, ſo many pitched battles were won by Sylla, and ſo many myriads of enemies killed, that it is not eaſy to number them. He took Rome itſelf twice,* and the Piraeus at Athens, not by famine, as Lyſander had done, but by aſſault, after he had defeated Archelaus in ſeveral great battles at land, and forced him to take refuge in his fleet.

It is a material point, too, to conſider what generals they had to oppoſe. I can look upon it as no more than the play of children, to have beaten Antiochus, who was no better than Alcibiades's pilot, and to have outwitted Philocles the Athenian Demagogue,

A man whoſe tongue was ſharpened, not his ſword.

Mithridates would not have compared them with his groom, nor Marius with one of his lictors. But Sylla had to contend with princes, conſuls, generals, and tribunes of the higheſt influence and abilities; and, to name but a few of them, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius; among the

* Whatever military merit he might diſplay in other battles, he had certainly none in the taking of Rome: For it was not generalſhip, but neceſſity that brought it into his hands.

the kings, more powerful than Mithridates; or among the people of Italy, more warlike than Lamponius and Teleſius? yet Sylla baniſhed the firſt, ſubdued the ſecond, and killed the other two.

What is of more conſequence, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, is, that Lyſander was ſupported in all his enterpriſes by his friends at home, and owed all his ſucceſs to their aſſiſtance; whereas Sylla, a baniſhed man, overpowered by a faction, at a time when his enemies were expelling his wife, deſtroying his houſe, and putting his friends to death, fought the battles of his country on the plains of Boeotia againſt armies that could not be numbered, and was victorious in her cauſe. This was not all: Mithridates offered to ſecond him with all his power and join him with all his forces againſt his enemies at Rome, yet he relaxed not the leaſt of his demands, nor ſhewed him the leaſt countenance. He would not ſo much as return his ſalutation, or give him his hand, 'till he promiſed in perſon to relinquiſh Aſia, to deliver up his ſhips, and to reſtore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their reſpective kings. There was nothing in the whole conduct of Sylla more glorious, or that ſhewed greater magnanimity. He preferred the public good to his own: like a dog of generous breed, he kept his hold 'till his adverſary had given out, and after that he turned to revenge his own cauſe.

The different methods they obſerved with reſpect to the Athenians, contribute not a little to mark their characters. Sylla, though they bore arms againſt him for Mithridates, after he had taken their city, indulged them with their liberty and the privilege of their own laws: Lyſander ſhewed no ſort of compaſſion for a people of late ſo glorious and powerful, but aboliſhed the popular government, and ſet over them the moſt cruel and unjuſt of tyrants.

Perhaps,

Perhaps, we ſhall not be wide of the truth, if we conclude that in the life of Sylla there are more great actions, and in Lyſander's fewer faults; if we aſſign to the Grecian the prize of temperance and prudence, and to the Roman that of valour and capacity for war.

CIMON.

CIMON.

PERIPOLTAS* the diviner, who conducted king Opheltas and his ſubjects from Theſſaly into Boeotia, left a family that flouriſhed for many ages. The greateſt part of that family dwelt in Chaeronea, where they firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves, after the expulſion of the Barbarians. But, as they were of a gallant and martial turn, and never ſpared themſelves in time of action, they fell in the wars with the Medes and the Gauls. There remained only a young orphan, named Damon, and ſurnamed Peripoltas. Damon in beauty of perſon and dignity of mind far exceeded all of his age, but he was of a harſh and moroſe temper, unpoliſhed by education.

He was now in the dawn of youth, when a Roman officer, who wintered with his company in Chaeronea, conceived a criminal paſſion for him; and, as he found ſollicitations and preſents of no avail, he was preparing to uſe force. It ſeems, he deſpiſed our city, whoſe affairs were then in a bad ſituation, and whoſe ſmalneſs and poverty rendered it an object of no importance. As Damon dreaded ſome violence, and

* Plutarch here introduces an obſcure and dirty ſtory, for the ſake of talking of the place of his nativity.

and withal was highly provoked at the paſt attempts, he formed a deſign againſt the officer's life, and drew ſome of his comrades into the ſcheme. The number was but ſmall, that the matter might be more private; in fact they were no more than ſixteen. One night they daubed their faces over with ſoot, after they had drank themſelves up to a pitch of elevation, and next morning fell upon the Roman as he was ſacrificing in the market-place. The moment they had killed him, and a number of thoſe that were about him, they fled out of the city. All was now in confuſion. The ſenate of Chaeronea met, and condemned the aſſaſſins to death, in order to excuſe themſelves to the Romans. But as the magiſtrates ſupped together according to cuſtom, Damon and his accomplices returned in the evening, broke into the town-hall, killed every man of them, and then made off again.

It happened that Lucius Lucullus, who was going upon ſome expedition, marched that way. He ſtopped to make an enquiry into the affair which was quite recent, and found that the city was ſo far from being acceſſary to the death of the Roman officer, that it was a conſiderable ſufferer itſelf. He therefore withdrew the garriſon, and took the ſoldiers with him.

Damon, for his part, committed depredations in the adjacent country, and greatly harraſſed the city. The Chaeroneans endeavoured to decoy him by frequent meſſages and decrees in his favour: and when they had got him among them again, they appointed him maſter of the wreſtling ring; but ſoon took opportunity to diſpatch him as he was anointing himſelf in the bagnio. Our fathers tell us, that for a long time certain ſpectres appeared on that ſpot, and ſad groans were heard; for which reaſon the doors of the bagnio were walled up. And to this very day thoſe who live in that neighbourhood imagine that they ſee ſtrange ſights, and are alarmed with doleful voices.

There are ſome remains, however, of Damon's family, who live moſtly in the town of Stiris in Phocis. Theſe are * called, according to the Aeolic dialect, *Aſbolomenoi*, that is, *Sooty-faced*, on account of their anceſtor's having ſmeared his face with ſoot, when he went about the aſſaſſination.

The people of Orchomenus, who were neighbours to the Chaeroneans, having ſome prejudice againſt them, hired a Roman informer to accuſe the city of the murder of thoſe who fell by the hands of Damon and his aſſociates, and to proſecute it as if it had been an individual. The cauſe came before the governor of Macedonia, for the Romans had not yet ſent praetors into Greece; and the perſons employed to plead for the city, appealed to the teſtimony of Lucullus. Upon this, the governor wrote to Lucullus, who gave a true account of the affair, and by that means delivered Chaeronea from utter ruin.

Our forefathers, in gratitude for their preſervation, erected a marble ſtatue to Lucullus in the market-place cloſe by that of Bacchus. And though many ages are ſince elapſed, we are of opinion that the obligation extends even to us. We are perſuaded too, that a repreſentation of the body is not comparable to that of the mind and the manners, and therefore, in this work of lives compared, ſhall inſert his. We ſhall, however, always adhere to the truth; and Lucullus will think himſelf ſufficiently repaid by our perpetuating the memory of his actions. He cannot want, in return for his true teſtimony, a falſe and fictitious account of himſelf. When a painter has to draw a fine and elegant form, which happens to have ſome little blemiſh, we do not want him entirely to paſs over that blemiſh, nor yet to mark it with exactneſs. The one would ſpoil the beauty of the picture, and the other deſtroy the likeneſs. So in our preſent work, ſince it is very difficult, or rather impoſſible,

* In the Attic dialect it would be Ησβολομενοι. The Aeolic was the vernacular dialect of the Phocians.

impoſſible, to find any life whatever without it's ſpots and errors, we muſt ſet the good qualities in full light, with all the likeneſs of truth. But we conſider the faults and ſtains that proceed either from ſome ſudden paſſion or from political neceſſity, rather as defects of virtue, than ſigns of a bad heart; and for that reaſon we ſhall caſt them a little into ſhade, in reverence to human nature, which produces no ſpecimen of virtue abſolutely pure and perfect.

When we looked out for one to put in compariſon with Cimon, Lucullus ſeemed the propereſt perſon. They were both of a warlike turn, and both diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the barbarians. They were mild in their adminiſtration; they reconciled the contending factions in their country. They both gained great victories, and erected glorious trophies. No Grecian carried his arms to more diſtant countries than Cimon, or Roman than Lucullus. Hercules and Bacchus only exceeded them; unleſs we add the expeditions of Perſeus againſt the Aethiopians, Medes and Armenians, and that of Jaſon againſt Colchis. But the ſcenes of theſe laſt actions are laid in ſuch very ancient times, that we have ſome doubt whether the truth could reach us. This alſo they have in common, that they left their wars unfiniſhed; they both pulled their enemies down, but neither of them gave them their death's blow. The principal mark, however, of likeneſs in their characters, is their affability and gentleneſs of deportment in doing the honours of their houſes, and the magnificence and ſplendor with which they furniſhed their tables. Perhaps, there are ſome other reſemblances which we paſs over, that may eaſily be collected from their hiſtory itſelf.

Cimon was the ſon of Miltiades and Hegeſipyla. That lady was a Thracian, and daughter to king Olorus, as it ſtands recorded in the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius written in honour of Cimon. So that Thucydides the hiſtorian was his relation,

for his father was called Olorus; ‖ a name that had been long in the family, and he had gold mines in Thrace. Thucydides is ſaid too, to have been killed in † Scapte Hyle, a place in that country. His remains, however, were brought into Attica, and his monument is ſhewn among thoſe of Cimon's family, near the tomb of Elpinice ſiſter to Cimon. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacias. Miltiades was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, for which he was thrown into priſon by the government, and there he died. He left his ſon Cimon very young, and his daughter Elpinice was not yet marriageable.

Cimon, at firſt, was a perſon of no reputation, but cenſured as a diſorderly and riotous young man. He was even compared to his grandfather Cimon, who for his ſtupidity was called *Coalemos* (that is, *Ideot.*) Steſimbrotus the Thaſian, who was his cotemporary, ſays, he had no knowledge of muſic, or any other accompliſhment which was in vogue among the Greeks, and that he had not the leaſt ſpark of the Attic wit or eloquence; but that there was a generoſity and ſincerity in his behaviour, which ſhewed the compoſition of his ſoul to be rather of the Peloponneſian kind. Like the Hercules of Euripides, he was

Rough and unbred, but great on great occaſions.

and therefore we may well add that article to the account Steſimbrotus has given us of him.

In his youth, he was accuſed of a criminal commerce with his ‡ ſiſter Elpinice. There are other inſtances,

‖ Ολορȣ τε πατρος ην εις τον τρογονον αναφεροντος την ὁμωνυμιαν—

† *Scapte Hyle* ſignifies *a wood full of trenches.* Stephanus (de urb.) calls it Scapteſule.

‡ Some ſay Elpinice was only half-ſiſter to Cimon, and that as ſuch he married her; the laws of Athens not forbidding him to marry one that was ſiſter only by the father's ſide. Cornelius Nepos expreſsly affirms it.

inſtances, indeed, mentioned of Elpinice's irregular conduct, particularly with reſpect to Polygnotus the painter. Hence it was, we are told, that when he painted the Trojan women, in the portico then called § *Pleſianaction*, but now *Poekile*, he drew Elpinice's face in the character of Laodice. Polygnotus, however, was not a painter, by profeſſion, nor did he receive wages for his work in the portico, but painted without reward, to recommend himſelf to his countrymen. So the hiſtorians write, as well as the poet Melanthius in theſe verſes—

The temples of the gods,
The fanes of heroes and Cecropian halls
His liberal hand adorn'd.

It is true, there are ſome who aſſert that Elpinice did not live in a private commerce with Cimon, but that ſhe was publickly married to him, her poverty preventing her from getting a huſband ſuitable to her birth. Afterwards Callias, a rich Athenian falling in love with her, made a propoſal to pay the government her father's fine, if ſhe would give him her hand, which condition ſhe agreed to, and, with her brother's conſent, became his wife. Still it muſt be acknowledged that Cimon had his attachments to the ſex. Witneſs his miſtreſſes Aſteria of Salamis and one Mneſtra, on whoſe account the poet Melanthius jeſts upon him in his elegies. And though he was legally married to Iſodice the daughter of Euryptolemus the ſon of Megacles, yet he was too uxorious while ſhe lived, and at her death he was inconſolable, if we may judge from the elegies that were addreſſed to him by way of comfort and condolence. Panaetius the philoſopher thinks Archelaus the phyſician was author of thoſe elegies, and from the times in which he flouriſhed, the conjecture ſeems not improbable.

§ Diogenes, Suidas and others, call it Peiſianaction.

The reſt of Cimon's conduct was great and admirable. In courage he was not inferior to Miltiades, nor in prudence to Themiſtocles, and he was confeſſedly an honeſter man than either of them. He could not be ſaid to come ſhort of them in abilities for war; and even while he was young and without military experience, it is ſurpriſing how much he exceeded them in political virtue. When Themiſtocles, upon the invaſion of the Medes, adviſed the people to quit their city and territory, and retire to the ſtraits of Salamis to try their fortunes in a naval combat, the generality were aſtoniſhed at the raſhneſs of the enterprize. But Cimon, with a gay air, led the way with his friends through the Ceramicus to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to dedicate to the goddeſs. This was to ſhew that Athens had no need of cavalry, but of marine forces, on the preſent occaſion. After he had conſecrated the bridle, and taken down a ſhield from the wall, he paid his devotions to the goddeſs, and then went down to the ſea; by which means he inſpired numbers with courage to embark. Beſides, as the poet Ion informs us, he was not unhandſome in his perſon, but tall and majeſtic, and had an abundance of hair which curled upon his ſhoulders. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner in the battle, that he gained not only the praiſe, but the hearts of his countrymen; inſomuch that many joined his train, and exhorted him to think of deſigns and actions worthy of thoſe at Marathon.

When he applied for a ſhare in the adminiſtration, the people received him with pleaſure. By this time they were weary of Themiſtocles, and as they knew Cimon's engaging and humane behaviour to their whole body, conſequent upon his natural mildneſs and candour, they promoted him to the higheſt honours and offices in the ſtate. Ariſtides, the ſon of Lyſimachus, contributed not a little to his advancement. He ſaw the goodneſs of his diſpoſition, and

ſet

et him up as a rival againſt the keenneſs and daring pirit of Themiſtocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was elected admiral. The Athenians had not now the chief command at ſea, but acted under the orders of Pauſanias the Lacedaemonian. The firſt thing Cimon did, was to equip his countrymen in a more commodious manner, and to make them much better ſeamen than the reſt. And as Pauſanias began to treat with the Barbarians, and write letters to the king, about betraying the fleet to them, in conſequence of which he treated the allies in a rough and haughty ſtyle, and fooliſhly gave into many unneceſſary and oppreſſive acts of authority; Cimon, on the other hand, liſtened to the complaints of the injured with ſo much gentleneſs and humanity, that he inſenſibly gained the command of Greece, not by arms, but by his kind and obliging manners. For the greateſt part of the allies, no longer able to bear the ſeverity and pride of Pauſanias, put themſelves under the direction of Cimon and Ariſtides. At the ſame time they wrote to the Ephori, to deſire them to recall Pauſanias, by whom Sparta was ſo diſhonoured, and all Greece ſo much diſcompoſed.

It is related, that when Pauſanias was at Byzantium, he caſt his eyes upon a young virgin named Cleonice, of a noble family there, and inſiſted on having her for a miſtreſs. The parents, intimidated by his power, were under the hard neceſſity of giving up their daughter. The young woman begged that the light might be taken out of his apartment, that ſhe might go to his bed in ſecrecy and ſilence. When ſhe entered he was aſleep, and ſhe unfortunately ſtumbled upon the candleſtick, and threw it down. The noiſe waked him ſuddenly, and he, in his confuſion, thinking it was an enemy coming to aſſaſſinate him, unſheathed a dagger that lay by him, and plunged it into the virgin's heart. After this he could never reſt. Her image appeared to him every

night, and with a menacing tone repeated this heroic verſe---

Go to the fate which pride and luſt prepare!

The allies, highly incenſed at this infamous action, joined Cimon to beſiege him in Byzantium. But he found means to eſcape thence; and, as he was ſtill haunted by the ſpectre, he is ſaid to have applied to a temple at * Heraclea where the *manes* of the dead were conſulted. There he invoked the ſpirit of Cleonice, ‡ and intreated her pardon. She appeared, and told him, "he would ſoon be deli-"vered from all his troubles, after his return to "Sparta:" in which, it ſeems, his † death was enigmatically foretold. Theſe particulars we have from many hiſtorians.

All the confederates had now put themſelves under the conduct of Cimon, and he ſailed with them to Thrace, upon intelligence that ſome of the moſt honourable of the Perſians, and of the king's relations, had ſeized the city of Eion upon the river Strymon, and greatly harraſſed the Greeks in that neighbourhood. Cimon engaged and defeated the Perſian forces, and then ſhut them up in the town. After this, he diſlodged the Thracians above the Strymon, who had uſed to ſupply the town with proviſions, and kept ſo ſtrict a guard over the country, that no convoys could eſcape him. By this means the place was reduced to ſuch extremity, that Butes the king's general, in abſolute deſpair, ſet fire to it, and ſo periſhed there with his friends and all his ſubſtance.

In

* Heraclea was a place near Olympia. Pauſanias applied to the necromancers there called Pſychagogi whoſe office it was to call up departed ſpirits.

‡ Thus we find that it was a cuſtom in the Pagan as well as in the Hebrew theology to conjure up the ſpirits of the dead, and that the witch of Endor was not the only witch in the world.

† The Lacedaemonians having reſolved to ſeize him, he fled for refuge to a temple of Minerva called *Chalcioicos*. There they ſhut him up and ſtarved him.

In conſequence of this, Cimon became maſter of the town, but there was no advantage to be reaped from it worth mentioning, becauſe the Barbarians had deſtroyed all by fire. The country about it, however, was very beautiful and fertile, and that he ſettled with Athenians. For this reaſon the people of Athens permitted him to erect there three marble *Hermae*, which had the following inſcriptions.

Where Strymon with his ſilver waves
The lofty towers of Eion laves,
The hapleſs Mede, with famine preſt,
The force of Grecian arms confeſt.

Let him, who born in diſtant days,
Beholds theſe monuments of praiſe---
Theſe forms that valour's glory ſave---
And ſees how Athens crowns the brave,
For honour feel the patriot-ſigh,
And for his country learn to die.

Afar to Phrygia's fated lands
When Mneſtheus leads his Attic bands,
Behold! he bears in Homer ſtill
The palm of military ſkill,
In every age, on every coaſt,
'Tis thus the ſons of Athens boaſt!

Though Cimon's name does not appear in any of theſe inſcriptions, yet his cotemporaries conſidered them as the higheſt pitch of honour. For neither Themiſtocles nor Miltiades were favoured with any thing of that kind. Nay, when the latter aſked only for a crown of olive, Sochares of the ward of Decelea ſtood up in the midſt of the aſſembly, and

ſpoke

ſpoke againſt it, in terms that were not candid indeed, but agreeable to the people. He ſaid, "Miltiades, when you ſhall fight the Barbarians and conquer alone, then aſk to have honours paid you alone." What was it then that induced them to give the preference ſo greatly to this action of Cimon? was it not that under the other generals they fought for their lives and exiſtence as a people, but under him they were able to diſtreſs their enemies, by carrying war into the countries where they had eſtabliſhed themſelves, and by colonizing Eion and Amphipolis? They planted a colony * too in the iſle of Scyros, which was reduced by Cimon on the occaſion I am going to mention. The Dolopes, who then held it, paid no attention to agriculture. They had ſo long been addicted to piracy, that at laſt they ſpared not even the merchants and ſtrangers who came into their ports, but in that of Cteſium plundered ſome Theſſalians who came to traffick with them, and put them in priſon. Theſe priſoners, however, found means to eſcape, and went and lodged an impeachment againſt the place before the Amphictyones (who commanded the whole iſland to make reſtitution). Thoſe who had no concern in the robbery, were unwilling to pay any thing, and, inſtead of that, called upon the perſons who committed it, and had the goods in their hands, to make ſatisfaction. But theſe pirates, apprehenſive of the conſequence, ſent to invite Cimon to come with his ſhips and take the town, which they promiſed to deliver up to him. In purſuance of this, Cimon took the iſland, expelled the Dolopes, and cleared the Aegean ſea of corſairs.

This done, he recollected that their ancient hero Theſeus, the ſon of Aegeus, had retired from Athens to Scyros, and was there treacherouſly killed by king Ly-

* This happened about the beginning of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad.

Lycomedes, who entertained ſome ſuſpicion of him. And, as there was an * oracle which had enjoined the Athenians to bring back his remains, and to honour him as a demi-god, Cimon ſet himſelf to ſearch for his tomb. This was no eaſy undertaking; for the people of Scyros had all along refuſed to declare where he lay, or to ſuffer any ſearch for his bones. At laſt with much pains and enquiry he diſcovered the repoſitory, and put his remains, ſet off with all imaginable magnificence, on board his own galley, and carried them to the ancient ſeat of that hero, almoſt † four hundred years after he had left it.

Nothing could give the people more pleaſure than this event. To commemorate it, they inſtituted games in which the tragic poets were to try their ſkill; and the diſpute was very remarkable. Sophocles, then a young man, brought his firſt piece upon the theatre; and Aphepſion, the Archon, perceiving that the audience were not unprejudiced, did not appoint the judges by lot in the uſual manner. The method he took was this: When Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre, and made the due libations to the god who preſided over the games, the Archon would not ſuffer them to retire, but obliged them to ſit down and ſelect ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges cauſed an extraordinary emulation among the actors. Sophocles gained the prize; at which Aeſchylus was ſo much grieved and diſconcerted, that he could not bear to ſtay much longer in Athens, but in anger retired to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near Gela.

Ion tells us, that when he was very young, and lately come from Chios to Athens, he ſupped, at Laomedon's,

* This oracle was delivered to them four years before; in the firſt year of the ſeventy-ſixth Olympiad.

† Plutarch could not make a miſtake of four hundred years. We are perſuaded, therefore, that he wrote *eight hundred*.

Laomedon's, with Cimon. After ſupper, when the libations were over, Cimon was deſired to ſing, and he did it ſo agreeably, that the company preferred him in point of politeneſs to Themiſtocles. For he, on a like occaſion, ſaid, "he had not learnt to ſing, "or play upon the harp; but he knew how to raiſe "a ſmall city to wealth and greatneſs." The converſation afterwards turned upon the actions of Cimon, and each of the gueſts dwelt upon ſuch as appeared to him the moſt conſiderable: he, for his part, mentioned only this, which he looked upon as the moſt artful expedient he had made uſe of. A great number of Barbarians were made priſoners in Seſtos and at Byzantium; and the allies deſired Cimon to make a diviſion of the booty. Cimon placed the priſoners quite naked, on one ſide, and all their ornaments on the other. The allies complained, the ſhares were not equal; whereupon, he bade them take which part they pleaſed, aſſuring them that the Athenians would be ſatisfied with that they left. Herophytus the Samian adviſed them to make choice of the Perſian ſpoils, and of courſe the Perſian captives fell to the ſhare of the Athenians. For the preſent, Cimon was ridiculed in private for the diviſion he had made; becauſe the allies had chains of gold, rich collars and bracelets, and robes of ſcarlet and purple to ſhew, while the Athenians had nothing but a parcel of naked ſlaves, and thoſe very unfit for labour. But a little after, the friends and relations of the priſoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia, and gave large ſums for their ranſom. So that Cimon with the money purchaſed four months proviſions for his ſhips, and ſent a quantity of gold beſides to the Athenian treaſury.

Cimon by this time had acquired a great fortune; and what he had gained glorioufly in the war from the enemy, he laid out with as much reputation upon his fellow-citizens. He ordered the fences of his fields and gardens to be thrown down, that ſtrangers,

as

as well as his own countrymen, might freely partake of his fruit. He had a ſupper provided at his houſe every day, in which the diſhes were plain, but ſufficient for a multitude of gueſts. Every poor citizen repaired to it at pleaſure, and had his diet without care or trouble; by which means he was enabled to give proper attention to public affairs. Ariſtotle, indeed, ſays, this ſupper was not provided for all the citizens in general, but only for thoſe of his own tribe, which was that of Lacia*.

When he walked out, he uſed to have a retinue of young men well clothed, and if he happened to meet an aged citizen in a mean dreſs, he ordered ſome one of them to change clothes with him. This was great and noble. But beſide this, the ſame attendants carried with them a quantity of money, and when they met in the market-place with any neceſſitous perſon of tolerable appearance, they took care to ſlip ſome pieces into his hand as privately as poſſible. Cratinus, the comic writer, ſeems to have referred to theſe circumſtances in one of his pieces entitled Archilochi.

Even I Metrobius, though a ſcrivener, hoped
To paſs a chearful and a ſleek old-age,
And live to my laſt hour at Cimon's table;
Cimon! the beſt and nobleſt of the Greeks!
Whoſe wide-ſpread bounty vied with that of heaven!
But ah! he's gone before me!

Gorgias the Leontiné gives him this character, "He "got riches to uſe them, and uſed them ſo as to be "honoured on their account." And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, in his elegies thus expreſſes the utmoſt extent of his wiſhes.

The

* Cimon's Ward being afterwards called Oeneis; it muſt be reconciled with this place from Stephanus, who tells us, *the Laciadae were a people of the ward Oeneis.*

The wealth of Scopas' heirs, the ſoul of Cimon,*
And the fam'd trophies of Ageſilaus.

Lichas the Lacedaemonian, we know, gained a great name among the Greeks, by nothing but entertaining ſtrangers who came to ſee the public exerciſes of the Spartan youth. But the magnificence of Cimon exceeded even the ancient hoſpitality and bounty of the Athenians. They indeed taught the Greeks to ſow bread-corn, to avail themſelves of the uſe of wells, and of the benefit of fire: in theſe things they juſtly glory. But Cimon's houſe was a kind of common-hall for all the people; the firſt-fruits of his lands were theirs; whatever the ſeaſons produced of excellent and agreeable, they freely gathered; nor were ſtrangers in the leaſt debarred from them: ſo that he in ſome meaſure revived the community of goods, which prevailed in the reign of Saturn, and which the poets tell us ſo much of. Thoſe who malevolently aſcribed this liberality of his to a deſire of flattering and courting the people, were refuted by the reſt of his conduct, in which he favoured the nobility, and inclined to the conſtitution and cuſtom of Lacedaemon. When Themiſtocles wanted to raiſe the power and privileges of the commons too high, he joined Ariſtides to oppoſe him. In like manner he oppoſed Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, attempted to aboliſh the court of Areopagus. He ſaw all perſons concerned in the adminiſtration, except Ariſtides and Ephialtes, pillaging the public, yet he kept his own hands clean, and in all his ſpeeches and actions continued to the laſt perfectly diſintereſted. One inſtance of this they give us in his behaviour to Rhoeſaces, a Barbarian who had revolted from the king of Perſia, and was come to Athens with great treaſures. This man finding himſelf

* Scopas, a rich Theſſalian, is mentioned in the life of Cato.

himſelf harraſſed by informers there, applied to Cimon for his protection; and, to gain his favour, placed two cups, the one full of gold, and the other of ſilver darics, in his antichamber. Cimon, caſting his eye upon them, ſmiled, and aſked him, "Whether he ſhould chuſe to have him his mercenary or his friend?" "My friend undoubtedly," ſaid the Barbarian. "Go then," ſaid Cimon, "and take theſe things back with you; for if I be your friend, your money will be mine whenever I have occaſion for it."

About this time, the allies, though they paid their contributions, began to ſcruple the furniſhing of ſhips and men. They wanted to bid adieu to the troubles of war, and to till the ground in quiet and tranquillity, particularly as the Barbarians kept at home, and gave them no diſturbance. The other Athenian generals took every method to compel them to make good their quota, and by proſecutions and fines rendered the Athenian government oppreſſive and invidious. But Cimon took a different courſe, when he had the command. He uſed no compulſion to any Grecian; he took money and ſhips unmanned of ſuch as did not chuſe to ſerve in perſon; and thus ſuffered them to be led by the charms of eaſe to domeſtic employments, to huſbandry and manufactures: ſo that of a warlike people, they became, through an inglorious attachment to luxury and pleaſure, quite unfit for any thing in the military department. On the other hand, he made all the Athenians in their turns ſerve on board his ſhips, and kept them in continual exerciſe. By theſe means he extended the Athenian dominion over the allies, who were all the while paying him for it. The Athenians were always upon one expedition or other, had their weapons for ever in their hands, and were trained up to every fatigue of ſervice: hence it was that the allies learned to fear and flatter them, and inſtead of being

their

their fellow-ſoldiers as formerly, inſenſibly became their tributaries and ſubjects.

Add to this, that no man humbled the pride and arrogance of the great king more than Cimon. Not ſatisfied with driving him out of Greece, he purſued his footſteps, and without ſuffering him to take breath, ravaged and laid waſte ſome parts of his dominions, and drew over others to the Grecian league; inſomuch that in all Aſia, from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not a Perſian ſtandard to be ſeen. As ſoon as he was informed that the king's fleets and armies lay upon the Pamphylian coaſts, he wanted to intimidate them in ſuch a manner that they ſhould never more venture beyond the Chelidonian iſles. For this purpoſe he ſet ſail from Cnidus and Triopium with a fleet of two hundred galleys, which Themiſtocles had, in their firſt conſtruction, made light and fit to turn with the utmoſt agility. Cimon widened them, and joined a platform to the deck of each, that there might in time of action be room for a greater number of combatants. When he arrived at Phaſelis, which was inhabited by Greeks, but would neither receive his fleet, nor revolt from the king, he ravaged their territories, and advanced to aſſault their walls. Hereupon, the Chians who were among his forces, having of old had a friendſhip for the people of Phaſelis, on one ſide endeavoured to pacify Cimon, and on the other addreſſed themſelves to the townſmen, by letters faſtened to arrows which they ſhot over the walls. At length they reconciled the two parties; the conditions were that the Phaſelites ſhould pay down ten talents, and ſhould follow Cimon's ſtandard againſt the Barbarians.

Ephorus ſays, Tithrauſtes commanded the king's fleet, and Pherendates his land-forces; but Calliſthenes will have it, that Ariomandes the ſon of Gobryas was at the head of the Perſians. He tells us farther, that he lay at anchor in the river Eurymedon, and did not yet chuſe to come to an engagement with the

the Greeks, becauſe he expected a reinforcement of eighty Phænician ſhips from Cyprus. On the other hand, Cimon wanted to prevent that junction, and therefore ſailed with a reſolution to compel the Perſians to fight, if they declined it. To avoid it, they puſhed up the river. But when Cimon came up, they attempted to make head againſt him, with ſix-hundred ſhips, according to Phanodemus, or, as Ephorus writes, with three hundred and fifty. They performed, however, nothing worthy of ſuch a fleet, but preſently made for land. The foremoſt got on ſhore, and eſcaped to the army which was drawn up hard by. The Greeks laid hold on the reſt, and handled them very roughly, as well as their ſhips. A certain proof that the Perſian fleet was very numerous, is, that though many in all probability got away, and many others were deſtroyed, yet the Athenians took no leſs than two hundred veſſels.

The barbarian land-forces advanced cloſe to the ſea: but it appeared to Cimon an arduous undertaking to make good his landing by dint of ſword, and with his troops who were fatigued with the late action to engage thoſe that were quite freſh and many times their number. Notwithſtanding this, he ſaw the courage and ſpirits of his men elevated with their late victory, and that they were very deſirous to be led againſt the enemy. He therefore diſembarked his heavy-armed infantry, yet warm from the late action. They ruſhed forward with loud ſhouts, and the Perſians ſtood and received them with a good countenance. A ſharp conflict enſued, in which the braveſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed among the Athenians were ſlain. At laſt with much difficulty the barbarians were put to the rout: many were killed, and many others taken, together with their pavilions full of all manner of rich ſpoil.

Thus Cimon, like an excellent champion, won two prizes in one day, and by theſe two actions outdid the victory of Salamis at ſea, and of Plataeae at

land. He added, however, a new trophy to his victories. Upon intelligence that the eighty Phaenician galleys, which were not in the battle, were arrived at * Hydrus, he ſteered that way as faſt as poſſible. They had not received any certain account of the forces to whoſe aſſiſtance they were going; and, as this ſuſpence much intimidated them, they were eaſily defeated, with the loſs of all their ſhips and moſt of their men.

Theſe events ſo humbled the king of Perſia, that he came into that famous peace, which limited him to the diſtance of a day's † journey on horſeback from the Grecian ſea; and by which he engaged that none of his galleys or other ſhips of war ſhould ever come within the Cyanean and Chelidonian iſles. Calliſthenes, indeed, denies that the king agreed to theſe conditions; but he allows that his ſubſequent behaviour was equivalent to ſuch an agreement. For his fears conſequent upon that defeat, made him retire ſo far from Greece, that Pericles with fifty ſhips, and Ephialtes with no more than thirty, ſailed beyond the Chelidonian rocks, without meeting with any fleet of the barbarians. However, in the collection of Athenian decrees made by Craterus, there is a copy of the articles of this peace, which are in ſubſtance the ſame as we have related them. We are told alſo, that the Athenians built an altar to peace on this occaſion, and that they paid particular honours to Callias who negotiated the treaty. So much was raiſed from the ſale of the ſpoils, that beſide what was reſerved for other occaſions, the people had money enough to build

* As no ſuch place as Hydrus is to be found, Lubinus thinks we ſhould read Sydra, which was a maritime town of Cilicia. Dacier propoſes to read Hydruſſa, which was one of the Cyclades. But, perhaps, Hydrus is only a corruption of Cyprus; for Polyaenus (l. i.) tells us, Cimon ſailed thither immediately after his two-fold victory. And he adds, that he went diſguiſed in a Perſian dreſs, which muſt be with a view to take in the Phaenician gallies.

† Four hundred furlongs.

build the wall on the ſouth ſide of the citadel. Nay, ſuch was the treaſure this expedition afforded, that by it were laid the foundations of the long walls called Legs; they were not finiſhed indeed 'till ſometime after. And as the place where they were to be erected was marſhy and full of water, Cimon at his own expence had the bottom ſecured by ramming down large ſtones and binding them with gravel. He too firſt adorned the city with thoſe elegant and noble places for exerciſe and diſputation, which a little after came to be ſo much admired. He planted the forum with plane-trees; and whereas the academy before was a dry and unſightly plat, he brought water to it, and ſheltered it with groves, ſo that it abounded with clean alleys and ſhady walks.

By this time the Perſians refuſed to evacuate the Cherſoneſus, and, inſtead of that, called down the Thracians to their aſſiſtance. Cimon ſet out againſt them from Athens with a very few galleys, and as they looked upon him with contempt on that account, he attacked them, and with four ſhips only took thirteen of theirs. Thus he expelled the Perſians, and beat the Thracians too; by which ſucceſs he reduced the whole Cherſoneſus to the obedience of Athens. After this, he defeated at ſea the Thaſians who had revolted from the Athenians, took three and thirty of their ſhips, and ſtormed their town. The gold-mines which were in the neighbouring continent, he ſecured to his countrymen, together with the whole Thaſian territory.

From thence there was an eaſy opening to invade Macedonia, and poſſibly to conquer great part of it; and as he neglected the opportunity, it was thought to be owing to the preſents which king Alexander made him. His enemies, therefore, impeached him for it, and brought him to his trial. In his defence he thus addreſſed his judges---"I have no connection "with rich Ionians or Theſſalians, whom other gene-"rals have applied to, in hopes of receiving compli-

" ments and treaſures from them. My attachment " is to the Macedonians,* whoſe frugality and ſobriety " I honour and imitate; things preferable with me " to all the wealth in the world. I love indeed to " enrich my country at the expence of its enemies." Steſimbrotus who mentions this trial, ſays Elpinice waited on Pericles at his own houſe, to intreat that he would behave with ſome lenity to her brother: for Pericles was the moſt vehement accuſer he had. At preſent, he only ſaid, " You are old, Elpinice, " much too old to tranſact ſuch buſineſs as this." However, when the cauſe came on, he was favourable enough to Cimon, and roſe up only once to ſpeak during the whole impeachment, and then he did it in a ſlight manner. Cimon therefore was honourably acquitted.

As to the reſt of his adminiſtration, he oppoſed and reſtrained the people who were invading the province of the nobility, and wanted to appropriate the direction of every thing to themſelves. But when he was gone out upon a new expedition, they broke out again, and overturning the conſtitution and moſt ſacred cuſtoms of their country, at the inſtigation of Ephialtes, they took from the council of Areopagus thoſe cauſes that uſed to come before it, and left it the cognizance of but very few. Thus by bringing all matters before themſelves, they made the government a perfect democracy. And this they did with the concurrence of Pericles, who by this time was grown very powerful, and had eſpouſed their party. It was with great indignation that Cimon found, at his return, the dignity of that high court inſulted; and he ſet

* The manuſcripts in general have Lacedaemonians; and that is probably the true reading. For Cimon is well known to have had a ſtrong attachment to that people. Beſides, the Macedonians were not a ſober people. As to what ſome object, that it is ſtrange he ſhould make no mention of the Macedonians, when he was accuſed of being bribed by them: the anſwer is eaſy, we are not certain that Plutarch has given us all Cimon's defence.

ſet himſelf to reſtore its juriſdiction, and to revive ſuch an ariſtocracy as had obtained under Cliſthenes. Upon this, his adverſaries raiſed a great clamour, and exaſperated the people againſt him, not forgetting thoſe ſtories about his ſiſter, and his own attachment to the Lacedaemonians. Hence thoſe verſes of Eupolis about Cimon.---

He's not a villain, but a debauchee,
Whoſe careleſs heart is loſt on wine and women.
The time has been, he ſlept in Lacedaemon,
And left poor Elpinice here alone.

But if with all his negligence and love of wine, he took ſo many cities, and gained ſo many victories, it is plain that if he had been a ſober man and attentive to buſineſs, none of the Greeks either before or after him could have exceeded him in great and glorious actions.

From his firſt ſetting out in life, he had an attachment to the Lacedaemonians. According to Steſimbrotus, he called one of the twins he had by a Clitonian woman, Lacedaemonius, and the other Eleus; and Pericles often took occaſion to reproach them with their mean deſcent by the mother's ſide. But Diodorus the geographer writes, that he had both theſe ſons, and a third named Theſſalus, by Iſodice daughter to Euryptolemus the ſon of Megacles.

The Spartans contributed not a little to the promotion of Cimon. Being declared enemies to Themiſtocles, they much rather choſe to adhere to Cimon, though but a young man, at the head of affairs in Athens. The Athenians too at firſt ſaw this with pleaſure, becauſe they reaped great advantages from the regard which the Spartans had for Cimon. When they began to take the lead among the allies, and were gaining the chief direction of all the buſineſs of the league, it was no uneaſineſs to them ſee the honour and eſteem he was held in. Indeed, Cimon was the man they

pitched upon for tranſacting that buſineſs, on account of his humane behaviour to the allies, and his intereſt with the Lacedaemonians. But when they were become great and powerful, it gave them pain to ſee Cimon ſtill adoring the Spartans. For he was always magnifying that people at their expence; and particularly, as Steſimbrotus tells us, when he had any fault to find with them, he uſed to ſay, "the "Lacedaemonians would not have done ſo." On this account his countrymen began to envy and to hate him.

They had, however, a ſtill heavier complaint againſt him, which took its riſe as follows. In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus the ſon of Zeuxidamus, there happened the greateſt earthquake at Sparta that ever was heard of. The ground in many parts of Laconia was cleft aſunder; Mount Taygetus felt the ſhock, and its ridges were torn off; the whole city was diſmantled, except five houſes. The young men and boys were exerciſing in the Portico, and it is ſaid that a little before the earthquake a hare croſſed the place, upon which the young men, naked and anointed as they were, ran out in ſport after it. The building fell upon the boys that remained, and deſtroyed them all together. Their monument is ſtill called, from that event, Siſmatia.

Archidamus, amidſt the preſent danger, perceived another that was likely to enſue, and, as he ſaw the people buſy in endeavouring to ſave their moſt valuable moveables, he ordered the trumpets to give the alarm, as if ſome enemy were ready to fall upon them, that they might repair to him immediately with their weapons in their hands. This was the only thing which at that criſis ſaved Sparta. For the Helots flocked together on all ſides from the fields to diſpatch ſuch as had eſcaped the earthquake; but finding them armed and in good order, they returned to their villages, and declared open war. At

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the ſame time they perſuaded ſome of their neighbours, among whom were the Meſſenians, to join them againſt Sparta.

In this great diſtreſs the Lacedaemonians ſent Periclidas to Athens, to beg for ſuccours. Ariſtophanes,* in his comic way, ſays, "there was an extraordinary contraſt between his pale face and his red robe, as he ſate a ſuppliant at the altars, and aſked us for troops." Ephialtes ſtrongly oppoſed and proteſted againſt giving any aſſiſtance to reeſtabliſh a city which was rival to their own, inſiſting that they ought rather to ſuffer the pride of Sparta to be troden under foot. Cimon, however, as Critias tells us, preferred the relief of Sparta to the enlargement of the Athenian power, and perſuaded the people to march with a great army to it's aid. Ion mentions the words which had the moſt effect upon them: he deſired them, it ſeems, "not to ſuffer Greece to be maimed, nor to deprive their own city of it's companion."

When he returned from aſſiſting the Lacedaemonians, he marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus complained in high terms of his bringing in his troops without permiſſion from the citizens: "For," ſaid he, "when we knock at another man's door, we do not enter without leave from the maſter." "But you, Lachartus," anſwered Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of Cleone and Megara, "but broke them in pieces, and forced your way in, "upon this principle, that nothing ſhould be ſhut "againſt the ſtrong." With this boldneſs and propriety too did he ſpeak to the Corinthian, and then, purſued his march.

After this, the Spartans called in the Athenians a ſecond time againſt the Meſſenians and Helots in † Ithome. But when they were arrived, they were more afraid of their ſpirit of enterpriſe than of the

* Lyſiſtrata, l. 1140.

† The Spartans were not ſkilled in ſieges.

enemy, and therefore, of all their allies, ſent them only back again, as perſons ſuſpected of ſome diſhonourable deſign. They returned full of reſentment ‡ of courſe, and now openly declared themſelves againſt the partizans of the Lacedaemonians, and particularly againſt Cimon. In conſequence of this, upon a ſlight pretence they baniſhed him for ten years, which is the term the oſtraciſm extends to.

In the mean time, the Lacedaemonians, in their return from an expedition in which they had delivered Delphi from the Phocians, encamped at Tanagra. The Athenians came to give them battle. On this occaſion Cimon appeared in arms among thoſe of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis, to fight for his country againſt the Lacedaemonians. When the council of five hundred heard of it, they were afraid that his enemies would raiſe a clamour againſt him, as if he was come only to throw things into confuſion, and to bring the Lacedaemonians into Athens, and therefore forbade the generals to receive him. Cimon, upon this, retired, after he had deſired Euthippus the Anaphlyſtian, and the reſt of his friends, who were moſt cenſured as partizans of Sparta, to exert themſelves glorioufly againſt the enemy, and by their behaviour to wipe off the aſperſion.

Theſe brave men, in number about a hundred, took Cimon's armour (as a ſacred pledge) into the midſt of their little band, formed themſelves into a cloſe body, and fought 'till they all fell with the greateſt ardour imaginable. The Athenians regretted them exceedingly, and repented of the unjuſt cenſures they had fixed upon them. Their reſentment againſt Cimon, too, ſoon abated, partly from the remembrance of his paſt ſervices, and partly from the difficulties they lay under at the preſent juncture. They were beaten in the great battle fought at Tanagra,

‡ The Athenians, in reſentment of this affront, broke the alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argives. THUCYD. l. i.

nagra, and they expected another army would come againſt them from Peloponneſus the next ſpring. Hence it was, that they recalled Cimon from baniſhment, and Pericles himſelf was the firſt to propoſe it. With ſo much candour were differences managed then, ſo moderate the reſentments of men, and ſo eaſily laid down, where the public good required it! Ambition itſelf, the ſtrongeſt of all paſſions, yielded to the intereſts and neceſſities of their country!

Cimon, ſoon after his return, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. After the peace was made, he ſaw the Athenians could not ſit down quietly, but ſtill wanted to be in motion, and to aggrandiſe themſelves by new expeditions. To prevent their exciting farther troubles in Greece, and giving a handle for inteſtine wars, and heavy complaints of the allies againſt Athens, on account of their formidable fleets traverſing the ſeas about the iſlands and round Peloponneſus, he fitted out a fleet of two hundred ſail, to carry war again into *Egypt and Cyprus. This he thought would anſwer two intentions;

* The hiſtory of the firſt expedition is this. While Cimon was employed in his enterprize againſt Cyprus, Inarus king of Lybia, having brought the greateſt part of lower Egypt to revolt from Artaxerxes, called in the Athenians to aſſiſt him to complete his conqueſt. Hereupon the Athenians quitted Cyprus, and ſailed into Egypt. They made themſelves maſters of the Nile, and attacking Memphis, ſeized two of the outworks, and attempted the third called the *white wall*. But the expedition proved very unfortunate. Artaxerxes ſent Megabyzus with a powerful army into Egypt. He defeated the rebels and the Lybians their aſſociates; drove the Greeks from Memphis, ſhut them up in the iſland of Proſopitis eighteen months, and at laſt forced them to ſurrender. They almoſt all periſhed in that war, which laſted ſix years. Inarus in violation of the public faith, was crucified.

The ſecond expedition was undertaken a few years after, and was not more ſucceſsful. The Athenians went againſt Cyprus with two hundred gallies. While they were beſieging Citium there, Amyrtaeus the Saite applied to them for ſuccours in Egypt, and Cimon ſent him ſixty of his gallies. Some ſay he went with them himſelf; others, that he continued before Citium. But nothing of

tions; it would accuſtom the Athenians to conflicts with the barbarians, and it would improve their ſubſtance in an honourable manner, by bringing the rich ſpoils of their natural enemies into Greece.

When all was now ready, and the army on the point of embarking, Cimon had this dream. An angry bitch ſeemed to bay at him, and, ſomething between barking and a human voice, to utter theſe words---*Come on; I and my whelps with pleaſure ſhall receive thee.* Though the dream was hard to interpret, Aſtyphilus the Poſidonian, a great diviner, and friend of Cimon's, told him it ſignified his death. He argued thus; a dog is an enemy to the man he barks at; and no one can give his enemy greater pleaſure than by his death. The mixture of the voice pointed out that the enemy was a Mede, for the armies of the Medes are compoſed of Greeks and barbarians. After this dream, he had another ſign in ſacrificing to Bacchus. When the prieſt had killed the victim, a ſwarm of ants took up the clotted blood by little and little, and laid it upon Cimon's great toe. This they did for ſome time without any one's taking notice of it: at laſt Cimon himſelf obſerved it, and at the ſame inſtant the ſoothſayer came and ſhewed him the liver without a head.

The expedition, however, could not now be put off, and therefore he ſet ſail. He ſent ſixty of his galleys againſt Egypt, and with the reſt made for the Aſiatic coaſt, where he defeated the king's fleet conſiſting of Phaenician and Cilician ſhips, made himſelf maſter of the cities in that circuit, and watched his opportunity to penetrate into Egypt. Every thing was great in the deſigns he formed. He thought

of moment was tranſacted at this time to the prejudice of the Perſians in Egypt. However, in the tenth year of Darius Nothus Amyrtaeus iſſued from the fens, and being joined by all the Egyptians, drove the Perſians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country.

THUCYD. l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. xi.

thought of nothing leſs than overturning the whole Perſian empire; and the rather becauſe he was informed that Themiſtocles was in great reputation and power with the barbarians, and had promiſed the king to take the conduct of the Grecian war, whenever he entered upon it. But Themiſtocles, they tell us, in deſpair of managing it to any advantage, and of getting the better of the good fortune and valour of Cimon, fell by his own hand.

When Cimon had formed theſe great projects, as a firſt ſtep towards them, he caſt anchor before Cyprus. From thence he ſent perſons in whom he could confide with a private queſtion to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; for their errand was entirely unknown. Nor did the deity return them any anſwer, but immediately upon their arrival ordered them to return, "becauſe Cimon," ſaid he, "is already with "me." The meſſengers, upon this, took the road to the ſea, and when they reached the Grecian camp, which was then on the coaſts of Egypt, they found that Cimon was dead. They then enquired what day he died, and comparing it with the time the oracle was delivered, they perceived that his departure was enigmatically pointed at in the expreſſion "that he "was already with the gods."

According to moſt authors, he died a natural death during the ſiege of Citium; but ſome ſay, he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the barbarians.

The laſt advice he gave thoſe about him, was to ſail away immediately, and to conceal his death. Accordingly, before the enemy or their allies knew the real ſtate of the caſe, they returned in ſafety, by the generalſhip of Cimon exerciſed, as Phanodemus ſays, thirty days after his death.

After he was gone, there was not one Grecian general who did any thing conſiderable againſt the barbarians. The leading orators, were little better than incendiaries, who ſet the Greeks one againſt another,

and

and involved them in inteſtine wars; nor was there any healing hand to interpoſe. Thus the king's affairs had time to recover themſelves, and inexpreſſible ruin was brought upon the powers of Greece. Long after this, indeed, Ageſilaus carried his arms into Aſia, and renewed the war a while againſt the king's lieutenants on the coaſt: but he was ſo ſoon recalled by the ſeditions and tumults which broke out afreſh in Greece, that he could do nothing extraordinary. The Perſian tax-gatherers were then left amidſt the cities in alliance and friendſhip with the Greeks; whereas, while Cimon had the command, not a ſingle collector was ſeen, nor ſo much as a horſeman appeared within four hundred furlongs from the ſea-coaſt.

That his remains were brought to Attica, his monument there is a ſufficient proof, for it ſtill bears the title of Cimonia. Nevertheleſs the people of Citium have a tomb of Cimon, which they hold in great veneration, as Nauſicrates the orator informs us; the gods having ordered them in a certain famine not to diſregard his *manes*, but to honour and worſhip him as a ſuperior being. Such was this Grecian general.

LUCUL-

LUCULLUS.

THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of conſular dignity; Metellus ſurnamed Numidicus was his uncle by the mother's ſide. His father was found guilty of embezzling the public money, and his mother Caecilia had but an indifferent reputation for chaſtity. As for Lucullus himſelf, while he was but a youth, before he ſollicited any public charge, or attempted to gain a ſhare in the adminiſtration, he made his firſt appearance in impeaching Servilius the augur, who had been his father's accuſer. As he had caught Servilius in ſome act of injuſtice in the execution of his office, all the world commended the proſecution, and talked of it as an indication of extraordinary ſpirit. Indeed, where there was no injury to revenge, the Romans conſidered the buſineſs of impeachments as a generous purſuit, and they choſe to have their young men faſten upon criminals, like ſo many well-bred hounds upon their prey.

The cauſe was argued with ſo much vehemence, that they came to blows, and ſeveral were wounded and ſome killed; in the end, however, Servilius was ac-

acquitted. But though Lucullus loſt his cauſe, he had great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues; inſomuch that Sylla dedicated his commentaries to him, as a perſon who could reduce the acts and incidents to much better order, and compoſe a more agreeable hiſtory of them than himſelf. For his eloquence was not only occaſional, or exerted when neceſſity called for it, like that of other orators who beat about in the Forum,

As ſports the vaulting Tunny in the main,

But when they are out of it,

Are dry, inelegant and dead—

He had applied himſelf to the ſciences called *liberal*, and was deep in the ſtudy of *humanity* from his youth; and in his age he withdrew from public labours, of which he had had a great ſhare, to repoſe himſelf in the boſom of philoſophy, and to enjoy the ſpeculations ſhe ſuggeſted; bidding a timely adieu to ambition after his difference with Pompey. To what we have ſaid of his ingenuity and ſkill in languages, the following ſtory may be added. While he was but a youth, as he was jeſting one day with Hortenſius the orator and Siſenna the hiſtorian, he undertook to write a ſhort hiſtory of the Marſi, either in Greek or Latin verſe, as the lot ſhould fall. They took him at his word, and, according to the lot, it was to be in Greek. That hiſtory of his is ſtill extant.

Among the many proofs of his affection for his brother Marcus, the Romans ſpeak moſt of the firſt. Though he was much older than Marcus, he would not accept of any office without him, but waited his time. This was ſo agreeable to the people, that in his abſence they created him aedile along with his brother.

Though

Though he was but a ſtripling at the time of the Marſian war, there appeared many inſtances of his courage and underſtanding. But Sylla's attachment to him was principally owing to his conſtancy and mildneſs. On this account he made uſe of his ſervices from firſt to laſt in his moſt important affairs. Amongſt other things, he gave him the direction of the mint. It was he who coined moſt of Sylla's money in Peloponneſus during the Mithridatic war. From him it was called Lucullia; and it continued to be chiefly in uſe for the occaſions of the army, for the goodneſs of it made it paſs with eaſe.

Some time after this, Sylla engaged in the ſiege of Athens; and though he was victorious by land, the ſuperiority of the enemy at ſea ſtraitened him for proviſions. For this reaſon he diſpatched Lucullus into Egypt and Lybia, to procure him a ſupply of ſhips. It was then the depth of winter; yet he ſcrupled not to ſail with three ſmall Greek brigantines and as many ſmall Rhodian galleys, which were to meet ſtrong ſeas, and a number of the enemy's ſhips which kept watch on all ſides, becauſe their ſtrength lay there. In ſpite of this oppoſition he reached Crete, and brought it over to Sylla's intereſt.

From thence he paſſed to Cyrene, where he delivered the people from the tyrants and civil wars with which they had been harraſſed, and reeſtabliſhed their conſtitution. In this he availed himſelf of a ſaying of Plato, who when he was deſired to give them a body of laws, and to ſettle their government upon rational principles, gave them this oracular anſwer, "It is very difficult to give laws to ſo proſperous a people." In fact nothing is harder to govern than man when fortune ſmiles, nor any thing more tractable than he when calamity lays her hands upon him. Hence it was, that Lucullus found the Cyrenians ſo pliant and ſubmiſſive to his regulations.

From Cyrene he ſailed to Egypt, but was attacked by pirates on his way, and loſt moſt of the veſſels he

he had collected. He himſelf eſcaped, and entered the port of Alexandria in a magnificent manner, being conducted in by the whole Egyptian fleet ſet off to the beſt advantage, as it uſed to be when it attended the king in perſon. *Ptolemy, who was but a youth, received him with all demonſtrations of reſpect, and even lodged and provided him a table in his own palace; an honour which had not been granted before to any foreign commander. Nor was the allowance for his expences the ſame which others had, but four times as much. Lucullus, however, took no more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and refuſed the king's preſents, though he was offered no leſs than the value of eighty talents. It is ſaid, he neither viſited Memphis, nor any other of the celebrated wonders of Egypt; thinking it rather the buſineſs of a perſon who has time, and only travels for pleaſure, than of him who had left his general engaged in a ſiege and encamped before the enemy's fortifications.

Ptolemy refuſed to enter into alliance with Sylla, for fear of bringing war upon himſelf, but he gave Lucullus a convoy to eſcort him to Cyprus, embraced him at parting, and reſpectfully offered him a rich emerald ſet in gold. Lucullus at firſt declined it, but upon the king's ſhewing him his own picture engraved on it, he was afraid to refuſe it, leſt he ſhould he thought to go away with hoſtile intentions, and in conſequence have ſome fatal ſcheme formed againſt him at ſea.

In his return he collected a number of ſhips from the maritime towns, excepting thoſe that had given ſhelter and protection to pirates, and with this fleet he paſſed

* Palmerius takes this for Ptolemy Auletes; but Auletes was not king 'till the year before Chriſt ſixty-five. It muſt, therefore, have been Ptolemy Lathyrus. For Sylla concluded the peace with Mithridates in the year before Chriſt eighty-two.

paſſed over to Cyprus. There he found that the enemy's ſhips lay in wait for him under ſome point of land; and therefore he laid up his fleet, and wrote to the cities to provide him quarters and all neceſſaries, as if he intended to paſs the winter there. But as ſoon as the wind ſerved, he immediately launched again, and proceeded on his voyage, lowering his ſails in the day-time, and hoiſting them again when it grew dark; by which ſtratagem he got ſafe to Rhodes. There he got a freſh ſupply of ſhips, and found means to perſuade the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit Mithridates and join him againſt the Samians. With his own forces he drove the king's troops out of Chios; took Epigonus, the Colophonian tyrant, priſoner, and ſet the people free.

At this time Mithridates was forced to abandon Pergamus, and had retired to Pitana. As Fimbria ſhut him up by land, he caſt his eyes upon the ſea, and in deſpair of facing in the field that bold and victorious officer, collected his ſhips from all quarters. Fimbria ſaw this, but was ſenſible of his want of naval ſtrength, and therefore ſent to intreat Lucullus to come with his fleet, and aſſiſt him in taking a king who was the moſt warlike and virulent enemy the Romans had. "Let not Mithridates," ſaid he, "the glorious prize which has "been ſought in ſo many labours and conflicts, "eſcape; as he is fallen into the hands of the "Romans, and is already in their net. When he is "taken, who will have a greater ſhare in the honour "than he who ſtops his flight, and catches him as "he goes? if I ſhut him up by land, and you do "the ſame by ſea, the palm will be all our own. "What value will Rome then ſet upon the actions "of Sylla at Orchomenus and Chaeronea, though "now ſo much extolled?"

There was nothing abſurd in the propoſal. Every body ſaw, that if Lucullus, who was at no great diſtance, had brought up his fleet, and blocked up

the harbour, the war would have been at an end, and they would all have been delivered from infinite calamities. But whether it was that he preferred his fidelity as Sylla's lieutenant, to his own intereſt and that of the public; whether he abhorred Fimbria, as a villain whoſe ambition had lately led him to murder his general and his friend; or whether by ſome overruling influence of fortune he reſerved Mithridates for his own antagoniſt, he abſolutely rejected the propoſal. He ſuffered him to get out of the harbour, and to laugh at Fimbria's land-forces.

After this, he had the honour of beating the king's fleet twice. The firſt time was at Lectum a promontory of Troas; the ſecond at Tenedos, where he ſaw Neoptolemus at anchor with a more conſiderable force. Upon this, Lucullus advanced before the reſt of his ſhips, in a Rhodian galley of five banks of oars, commanded by Demagoras, a man very faithful to the Romans, and experienced in naval affairs. Neoptolemus met him with great fury, and ordered the maſter of his ſhip to ſtrike againſt that of Lucullus. But Demagoras fearing the weight of the admiral's galley, and the ſhock of its brazen beak, thought it dangerous to meet him a-head. He therefore tacked about, and received him a-ſtern, in which place he received no great damage, becauſe the ſtroke was upon the lower parts of the ſhip, which were under water. In the mean time the reſt of his fleet coming up, Lucullus ordered his own ſhip to tack again, fell upon the enemy, and, after many gallant actions, put them to flight, and purſued Neoptolemus for ſome time.

This done, he went to meet Sylla, who was going to croſs the ſea from the Cherſoneſus. Here he ſecured his paſſage, and helped to tranſport his army. When the peace * was agreed upon, Mithridates ſailed into

* This peace was concluded in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ſixty-nine, eight years before the death of Sylla.

into the Euxine ſea, and Sylla laid a fine upon Aſia of twenty thouſand talents. Lucullus was commiſſioned to collect the tax, and to coin the money; and it was ſome conſolation to the cities amidſt the ſeverity of Sylla, that Lucullus acted not only with the utmoſt juſtice, but with all the lenity that ſo difficult and odious a charge would admit of.

As the Mityleneans had openly revolted, he wanted to bring them to acknowledge their fault, and pay a moderate fine for having joined Marius's party. But, led by their ill genius, they continued obſtinate. Upon this, he went againſt them with his fleet, beat them in a great battle, and ſhut them up within their walls. Some days after he had begun the ſiege, he had recourſe to this ſtratagem. In open day he ſet ſail towards Elea, but returned privately at night, and lay cloſe near the city. The Mityleneans then ſallying out in a bold and diſorderly manner to plunder his camp, which they thought he had abandoned, he fell upon them, took moſt of them priſoners, and killed five hundred who ſtood upon their defence. Here he got ſix thouſand ſlaves, and an immenſe quantity of other ſpoil.

He had no hand in the various and unſpeakable evils which Sylla and Marius brought upon Italy: For by the favour of providence he was engaged in the affairs of Aſia. Yet none of Sylla's friends had greater intereſt with him. Sylla, as we have ſaid, out of particular regard, dedicated his commentaries to him; and, paſſing Pompey by, in his laſt will conſtituted him guardian to his ſon. This ſeems to have firſt occaſioned thoſe differences and that jealouſy which ſubſiſted between Pompey and Lucullus, both young men and full of ardour in the purſuit of glory.

A little after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was choſen conſul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and ſeventy-ſixth olympiad. At this time many propoſed to renew the war with Mithridates, and Cot-

ta himſelf ſaid, "the fire was not extinguiſhed, it "only ſlept in embers." Lucullus, therefore, was much concerned at having the Ciſalpine Gaul allotted as his province, which promiſed him no opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf. But the honour Pompey had acquired in Spain, gave him moſt trouble; becauſe that general's ſuperior reputation, he clearly ſaw, after the Spaniſh war was ended, would entitle him to the command againſt Mithridates. Hence it was, that when Pompey applied for money, and informed the government, that if he was not ſupplied, he muſt leave Spain and Sertorius, and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus readily exerted himſelf to procure the ſupplies, and to prevent his returning upon any pretext whatever during his conſulſhip. He knew that every meaſure at home would be under Pompey's direction, if he came with ſuch an army. For, at this very time, the tribune Cethegus, who had the lead, becauſe he conſulted nothing but the humour of the people, was at enmity with Lucullus, on account of his deteſting that tribune's life, polluted as it was with infamous amours, inſolence, and every ſpecies of profligacy. Againſt this man he declared open war. Lucius Quintius, another tribune, wanted to annul the acts of Sylla, and to diſorder the whole face of affairs, which was now tolerably compoſed. But Lucullus, by private repreſentations and public remonſtrances, drew him from his purpoſe, and reſtrained his ambition. Thus, in the moſt polite and ſalutary way imaginable, he deſtroyed the ſeeds of a very dangerous diſeaſe.

About this time news was brought of the death of Octavius governor of Cilicia. There were many competitors for that province, and they all paid their court to Cethegus as the perſon moſt likely to procure it for them. Lucullus ſet no great value upon that government; but, as it was near Cappadocia, he concluded, if he could obtain it, that the Romans would not think of employing any other general againſt Mi-

Mithridates. For this reaſon he exerted all his art to ſecure the province to himſelf. At laſt he was neceſſitated, againſt the bent of his diſpoſition, to give into a meaſure which was indirect and illiberal, but very conducive to his purpoſe.

There was a woman then in Rome named Praecia, famed for beauty and enchanting wit, but in other reſpects no better than a common proſtitute. By applying her intereſt with thoſe who frequented her houſe and were fond of her company, to ſerve her friends in the adminiſtration and in other affairs, ſhe added to her other accompliſhments the reputation of being a uſeful friend and a woman of buſineſs. This exalted her not a little. But when ſhe had captivated Cethegus, who then was in the height of his glory and carried all before him in Rome, the whole power fell into her hands. Nothing was done without the favour of Cethegus, nor by Cethegus, without the conſent of Praecia. To her Lucullus applied by preſents and the moſt inſinuating compliments; nor could any thing have been more acceptable to a vain and pompous woman, than to ſee herſelf flattered and courted by ſuch a man as Lucullus. The conſequence was that Cethegus immediately eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſollicited for him the province of Cilicia. When he had gained this, he had no farther need either of Praecia or Cethegus. All came into his intereſt, and with one voice gave him the command in the Mithridatic war. He indeed could not but be conſidered as the fitteſt perſon for that charge, becauſe Pompey was engaged with Sertorius, and Metellus had given up his pretenſions on account of his great age; and theſe were the only perſons who could ſtand in competition for it with Lucullus. However, his collegue Cotta, by much application, prevailed upon the ſenate, to ſend him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

Lucullus, with a legion now levied in Italy, paſſed over into Aſia, where he found the reſt of the troops that were to compoſe his army. Theſe had all been long entirely corrupted by luxury and avarice; and that part of them called Fimbrians, was more intractable than the reſt, on account of their having been under no command. At the inſtigation of Fimbria, they had killed Flaccus who was conſul and their general too, and had betrayed Fimbria himſelf to Sylla; and they were ſtill mutinous and lawleſs men, though in other reſpects brave, hardy and experienced ſoldiers. Nevertheleſs Lucullus in a little time ſubdued the ſeditious ſpirit of theſe men, and corrected the faults of the reſt; ſo that now they firſt found a real commander, whereas before they had been brought to ſerve by indulgence and every promiſe of pleaſure.

The affairs of the enemy were in this poſture. Mithridates, like a ſophiſtical warrior, had formerly met the Romans in a vain and oſtentatious manner, with forces that were ſhowy and pompous indeed, but of little uſe. Baffled and diſgraced in his attempt, he grew wiſer and therefore in this ſecond war he provided troops that were capable of real ſervice. He retrenched that mixed multitude of nations, and thoſe bravados that were iſſued from his camp in a barbarous variety of language, together with the rich arms adorned with gold and precious ſtones, which he now conſidered rather as the ſpoils of the conqueror, than as adding any vigour to the men that wore them. Inſtead of this, he armed them with ſwords in the Roman faſhion, and with large and heavy ſhields; and his cavalry he provided with horſes rather well-trained than gaily accoutred. His infantry conſiſted of a hundred and twenty thouſand, and his cavalry of ſixteen thouſand, beſides armed chariots to the number of a hundred. His navy was not equipped, as before, with gilded pavilions, baths and delicious apartments for the women, but with all

manner

manner of weapons offenſive and defenſive, and money to pay the troops.

In this reſpectable form he invaded Bithynia, where the cities received him with pleaſure; and not only that country, but all Aſia returned to its former diſtempered inclinations, by reaſon of the intolerable evils that the Roman uſurers and tax-gatherers had brought upon them. Theſe Lucullus afterwards drove away, like ſo many harpies which robbed the poor inhabitants of their food. At preſent he was ſatisfied with reprimanding them, and bringing them to exerciſe their office with more moderation; by which means he kept the Aſiatics from revolting, when their inclination lay almoſt univerſally that way.

While Lucullus was employed in theſe matters, Cotta thinking he had found his opportunity, prepared to give Mithridates battle. And as he had accounts from many hands, that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, he did every thing to expedite the engagement in order to prevent Lucullus from having any ſhare in the triumph, which he believed was now all his own. He was defeated, however, both by ſea and land, with the loſs of ſixty ſhips and all their crews, as well as four thouſand land-forces; after which he was ſhut up in Chalcedon, and had no reſource except in the aſſiſtance of Lucullus. Lucullus was adviſed, notwithſtanding, to take no notice of Cotta, but to march forward into the kingdom of Mithridates which he would find in a defenceleſs ſtate. On this occaſion the ſoldiers were loudeſt in their complaints. They repreſented that Cotta had by his raſh counſels, not only ruined himſelf and his own men, but done them too great prejudice; ſince, had it not been for his error, they might have conquered without loſs. But Lucullus, in a ſet ſpeech upon this ſubject, told them, "He had rather deliver one Roman out of "the enemy's hand, than take all the enemy had."

And when Archelaus, who formerly had commanded the king's forces in Boeotia, but now was come over to the Romans and fought for them, aſſerted, That if Lucullus would but once make his appearance in Pontus, all would immediately fall before him, he ſaid, "He would not act in a more cowardly manner than hunters, nor paſs the wild beaſts by, and go to their empty dens." He had no ſooner uttered theſe words, than he marched againſt Mithridates with thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe.

When he got ſight of the enemy, he was aſtoniſhed at their numbers, and determined to avoid a battle and gain time. But Marius, * a Roman officer, whom Sertorius had ſent to Mithridates out of Spain with ſome troops, advanced to meet Lucullus, and gave him the challenge. Lucullus accepted it, and put his army in order of battle. The ſignal was juſt ready to be given, when without any viſible alteration, there was a ſudden exploſion in the air, and a large luminous body was ſeen to fall between the two armies; it's form was like that of a large tun, and it's colour that of molten ſilver. Both ſides were ſo affected with the phaenomenon, that they parted without ſtriking a blow. This prodigy is ſaid to have happened in Phrygia at a place called Otryae.

Lucullus, concluding that no human ſupplies could be ſufficient to maintain ſo many Myriads as Mithridates had, for any length of time, eſpecially in preſence of an enemy, ordered one of the priſoners to be brought before him. The firſt queſtion he put to him was, how many there were in his meſs, and the ſecond what proviſions he had left in his tent. When he had this man's anſwer, he commanded him to withdraw; and then examined a ſecond and a third in like manner. The next thing was to compare

* Appian calls him Varius.

pare the quantity of provisions which Mithridates had laid in, with the number of soldiers he had to support; by which he found that in three or four days they would be in want of bread-corn. This confirmed him in his design of gaining time; and he caused great plenty of provisions to be brought into his own camp, that in the midst of abundance he might watch the enemy's distress.

Notwithstanding this, Mithridates formed a design against the Cyzicenians, who were beaten * in the late battle near Chalcedon, and had lost three thousand men and ten ships. To deceive Lucullus, he decamped soon after supper, one dark, tempestuous night; and marched with so much expedition, that at break of day he got before the town, and posted himself upon mount † Adrastia. As soon as Lucullus perceived he was gone, he followed his steps; and without falling unawares upon the enemy in the obscurity of the night, as he might easily have done, he reached the place of his destination, and sat down at a village called Thraceia, the most commodious situation imaginable for guarding the roads and cutting off the enemy's convoys.

He was now so sure of his aim, that he concealed it no longer from his men; but when they had entrenched themselves, and returned from their labour, called them together, and told them with great triumph, "in a few days he would gain them a victory "which should not cost one drop of blood."

Mithridates had planted his troops in ten different posts about the city, and with his vessels blocked up the frith which parts it from the ‡ continent, so that it

* Along with Cotta,

† So called from a temple in the city consecrated by Adrastus to the goddess Nemesis, who from thence had the name of Adrastia.

‡ Strabo says, Cyzicus lies upon the Propontis, and is an island joined to the continent by two bridges; near which is a city of the same name, with two, harbours capable of containing two hundred vessels, STRAB. l. xii.

it was inveſted on all ſides. The Cyzicenians were prepared to combat the greateſt difficulties, and to ſuffer the laſt extremities in the Roman cauſe: but they knew not where Lucullus was, and were much concerned that they could get no account of him. Though his camp was viſible enough, the enemy had the art to impoſe upon them. Pointing to the Romans who were poſted on the heights, "Do you ſee "that army," ſaid they; thoſe are the Armenians and "Medes, whom Tigranes has ſent as a reinforcement "to Mithridates." Surrounded with ſuch an immenſe number of enemies, as they thought, and having no hope of relief but from the arrival of Lucullus, they were in the utmoſt conſternation.

When Demonax, whom Archelaus found * means to ſend into the town, brought them news that Lucullus was arrived, at firſt they could hardly believe it, imagining he came only with a feigned ſtory, to encourage them to bear up in their preſent diſtreſs. However, the ſame moment, a boy made his appearance who had been a priſoner among the enemy, and had juſt made his eſcape. Upon their aſking him where Lucullus was, he laughed, thinking them only in jeſt; but when he ſaw they were in earneſt, he pointed with his finger to the Roman camp. This ſufficiently revived their drooping ſpirits.

In the lake Daſcylitis, near Cizicus, there were veſſels of a conſiderable ſize. Lucullus hauled up the largeſt of them, put it upon a carriage, and drew it down to the ſea. Then he put on board it as many ſoldiers as it could contain, and ordered them to get into Cyzicus, which they effected in the night.

It ſeems too, that heaven, delighted with the valour of the Cyzicenians, ſupported them with ſeveral remarkable ſigns. The feaſt of Proſerpine was come, when they were to ſacrifice a black heifer to her; and as they had no living animal of that kind,

* By the aſſiſtance of bladders he ſwam into the town. FLORUS, l. iii.

kind, they made one of paſte,* and were approaching the altar with it. The victim, bred for that purpoſe, paſtured with the reſt of their cattle on the other ſide the frith. On that very day ſhe parted from the herd, ſwam alone to the town, and preſented herſelf before the altar. The ſame goddeſs appeared to Ariſtagoras, the public ſecretary, in a dream, and ſaid, "Go and tell your fellow-"citizens to take courage, for I ſhall bring "the African piper againſt the trumpeter of Pon-"tus."

While the Cyzicenians were wondering at this oracular expreſſion, in the morning a ſtrong wind blew, and the ſea was in the utmoſt agitation. The king's machines erected againſt the walls, the wonderful work of Niconidus the Theſſalian, by the noiſe and cracking firſt announced what was to come. Then a ſouth-wind incredibly violent aroſe, and in the ſhort ſpace of an hour broke all the engines to pieces, and deſtroyed the wooden tower which was an hundred cubits high. It is moreover related, that Minerva was ſeen by many at Ilium in their ſleep, all covered with ſweat, and with part of her veil rent; and that ſhe ſaid, ſhe was juſt come from aſſiſting the people of Cyzicus. Nay, they ſhewed at Ilium a pillar which had an inſcription to that purpoſe.

As long as Mithridates was deceived by his officers, and kept in ignorance of the famine that prevailed in the camp, he lamented his miſcarriage in the ſiege. But when he came to be ſenſible of the extremity to which his ſoldiers were reduced, and that they were forced even to eat human fleſh,† all his ambition

* The Pythagoreans, who thought it unlawful to kill any animal, ſeem to have been the firſt among the Greeks who offered the figures of animals in paſte, myrrh, or ſome other compoſition. The poorer ſort of Egyptians are ſaid to have done the ſame from another principle.

† There is ſomething extremely improbable in this. It does not appear that Mithridates was ſo totally blocked up by Lucullus as

bition and ſpirit of contention died away. He found Lucullus did not make war in a theatrical oſtentatious manner, but aimed his blows at his very heart, and left nothing unattempted to deprive him of proviſions. He therefore ſeized his opportunity, while the Roman was attacking a certain fort, to ſend off almoſt all his cavalry and his beaſts of burthen, as well as the leaſt uſeful part of his infantry, into Bithynia.

When Lucullus was appriſed of their departure, he retired during the night into his camp. Next morning there was a violent ſtorm; nevertheleſs he began the purſuit with ten cohorts of foot, beſide his cavalry. All the way he was greatly incommoded by the ſnow, and the cold was ſo piercing that ſeveral of his ſoldiers ſunk under it, and were forced to ſtop. With the reſt he overtook the enemy at the river Rhyndacus, and made ſuch havock among them, that the women of Apollonia came out to plunder the convoys and to ſtrip the ſlain.

The ſlain, as may well be imagined, were very numerous, and Lucullus made fifteen thouſand priſoners; beſide which, he took ſix thouſand horſes and an infinite number of beaſts of burthen. And he made it his buſineſs to lead them all by the enemy's camp.

I cannot help wondering at Saluſt's ſaying, that this was the firſt time the Romans ſaw a * camel. How could he think that thoſe who formerly under Scipio conquered Antiochus, and lately defeated Archelaus

to reduce him to this extremity; and even had that been the caſe, it would certainly have been more elegible to have riſqued a battle, than to have ſubmitted to the dreadful alternative here mentioned. But wherefore eat human fleſh, when afterwards we are expreſsly told that they had beaſts to ſend away? There is, to the beſt of our knowledge, and belief, as little foundation in hiſtory for this practice, as there is in nature.

* Livy expreſsly tells us, there were camels in Antiochus's army. "Before the cavalry were placed the chariots armed with ſcythes, "and camels of that ſpecies called Dromedaries."

Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 40.

chelaus at Orchomenus and Chaeronea, ſhould be unacquainted with that animal?

Mithridates now reſolved upon a ſpeedy flight; and to amuſe Lucullus with employment in another quarter, he ſent his admiral Ariſtonicus to the Grecian ſea. But juſt as he was on the point of ſailing, he was betrayed to Lucullus, together with ten thouſand pieces of gold, which he took with him to corrupt ſome part of the Roman forces. After this, Mithridates made his eſcape by ſea, and left his generals to get off with the army in the beſt manner they could. Lucullus coming up with them at the river Granicus, killed full twenty thouſand, and made a prodigious number of priſoners. It is ſaid that in this campaign the enemy loſt near three hundred thouſand men, reckoning the ſervants of the army as well as ſoldiers.

Lucullus immediately entered Cyzicum, where he was received with every teſtimony of joy and reſpect. After which, he went to the Helleſpont, to collect ſhips to make up a fleet. On this occaſion he touched at Troas, and ſlept there in the temple of Venus. The goddeſs, he dreamt, ſtood by him, and addreſſed him as follows,

Doſt thou then ſleep, great monarch of the woods?
The fawns are ruſtling near thee.——

Upon this, he roſe, and calling his friends together while it was yet dark, related to them the viſion. He had hardly made an end, when meſſengers arrived from Ilium with an account that they had ſeen off the * Grecian harbour thirteen of the king's large galleys ſteering towards Lemnos. He went in purſuit of them without loſing a moment, took them, and killed their admiral Iſidorus. When this was done, he made all the ſail he could after ſome others which were before. Theſe lay at anchor by the iſland; and as

* Plutarch means the harbour where the Grecians landed when they were going to the ſiege of Troy.

as ſoon as the officers perceived his approach, they hauled the ſhips aſhore, and fighting from the decks, galled the Romans exceedingly. The Romans had no chance to ſurround them; nor could their galleys, which were kept by the waves in continual motion, make any impreſſion upon thoſe of the enemy which were on firm ground, and ſtood immoveable. At laſt having with much difficulty found a landing-place, he put ſome of his troops on ſhore, who taking them in the rear, killed a number of them, and forced the reſt to cut their cables and ſtand out to ſea. In the confuſion the veſſels daſhed one againſt another, or fell upon the beaks of thoſe of Lucullus. The deſtruction conſequently was great. Marius, the general ſent by Sertorius, was among the priſoners. He had but one eye; and Lucullus, when he firſt ſet ſail, had given his men a ſtrict charge not to kill any perſon with one eye; in order that he might be reſerved for a death of greater torture and diſgrace.

After this, he haſtened to purſue Mithridates himſelf, whom he hoped to find in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius. He had ſent this officer before with a fleet to Nicomedia, to prevent the king's eſcape. But Voconius had loitered in Samothrace about getting himſelf initiated in the myſteries * and celebrating feſtivals. Mithridates in the mean time had got out, and was making great efforts to reach Pontus before Lucullus could come to ſtop him. But a violent tempeſt overtook him, by which many of his veſſels were daſhed to pieces, and many ſunk. The whole ſhore was covered with the wreck which the ſea threw up for ſeveral days. As for the king himſelf, the ſhip in which he ſailed was ſo large, that the pilots could not make

* The myſteries of the Cabiri. The worſhip of theſe Gods was probably brought from Phaenicia; for כבר Cabir in the language of that country ſignifies powerful. They were reverenced as the moſt tremendous of ſuperior beings; the more ſo, becauſe of the myſterious and awful ſolemnities of their worſhip. Some have pretended to give us account of their names, though they were locked up in the profoundeſt ſecrecy.

make land with it amidſt ſuch a terrible agitation of the waves, and it was by this time ready to founder with the water it had taken in. He therefore got into a ſhallop belonging to ſome pirates, and truſting his life to their hands, beyond all hope was brought ſafe to Heraclea in Pontus, after having paſſed through the moſt unſpeakable dangers.

In this war Lucullus behaved to the ſenate of Rome with an honeſt pride, which had its ſucceſs. They had decreed him three thouſand talents to enable him to fit out a fleet. But he acquainted them by letters that he had no need of the money, and boaſted that, without ſo much expence and ſuch mighty preparations, he would drive Mithridates out of the ſea with the ſhips the allies would give him. And he performed his promiſe by the aſſiſtance of a ſuperior power. For the tempeſt, which ruined the Pontic fleet, is ſaid to have been raiſed by the reſentment of Diana of Priapus, for their plundering her temple and beating down her ſtatue.

Lucullus was now adviſed by many of his officers to let the war ſleep a while; but, without regarding their opinion, he penetrated into the kingdom of Pontus, by way of Bithynia and Galatia. At firſt he found proviſions ſo ſcarce, that he was forced to have thirty thouſand Gauls follow him with each a * meaſure of wheat upon his ſhoulders. But as he proceeded farther in his march, and bore down all oppoſition, he came to ſuch plenty, that an ox was ſold for one drachma, and a ſlave for four. The reſt of the booty was ſo little regarded, that ſome left it behind them, and others deſtroyed it; for, amidſt ſuch abundance, they could not find a purchaſer. Having, in the excurſions of their cavalry, laid waſte all the country as far as Themiſcyrae and about the river Thermodon, they complained that Lucullus took all the towns by capitulation, inſtead of ſtorm, and gave not up one to the ſoldiers for plunder. "Now," ſaid

* Medimnus.

ſaid they, "you leave Amiſus a rich and flouriſhing "city, which might be eaſily taken, if you would "aſſault it vigorouſly; and drag us after Mithridates "into the waſtes of Tibarene and Chaldaea."

Lucullus, however, not thinking they would break out into that rage which afterwards appeared, neglected their remonſtrances. He took more pains to excuſe himſelf to thoſe who blamed his ſlow progreſs, and his loſing time in reducing towns and villages of little conſequence, while Mithridates was again gathering power. "This is the very thing," ſaid he, that I want, "and aim at in all my operations, that Mithridates "may get ſtrength, and collect an army reſpectable "enough, to make him ſtand an engagement, and "not continue to fly before us. Do not you ſee what "vaſt and boundleſs deſarts lie behind him? Is not "Caucaſus with all its immenſe train of mountains "at hand, ſufficient to hide him and numberleſs "other kings who want to avoid a battle? It is but "a few days journey from the country of the * Ca-"biri into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, is "ſeated, ſurrounded with that power, which has "wreſted Aſia from the Parthians, which carries "Grecian colonies into Media, ſubdues Syria and "Paleſtine, cuts off the Seleucidae, and carries their "wives and daughters into captivity. This prince is "nearly allied to Mithridates; he is his ſon-in-law. "Do you think he will diſregard him, when he comes "as a ſuppliant, and not take up arms in his cauſe? "Why will you then be in ſuch haſte to drive Mithri-"dates out of his dominions, and riſque the bringing "Tigranes upon us, who has long wanted a pretence for "it? And ſurely he cannot find a more ſpecious one, "than that of ſuccouring a father-in-law, and a king reduced

* Hence it appears, as well as from a paſſage in Strabo, that there was a diſtrict on the borders of Phrygia called Cabiri. Indeed, the worſhip of thoſe Gods had prevailed in ſeveral parts of Aſia, and they are ſuppoſed to have had homage paid them at Rome under the title of Divi Potes..

" reduced to ſuch extreme neceſſity. What need is " there then for us to ripen this affair, and to teach Mi- " thridates what he may not know, who are the confe- " derates he is to ſeek againſt us; or to drive him, " againſt his inclination and his notions of honour, " into the arms of Tigranes? Is it not better to give " him time to make preparations and regain ſtrength " in his own territories, that we may have to meet " the Cholchians, the Tibarenians and Cappadocians, " whom we have often beaten, rather than the un- " known forces of the Medes and the Armenians?"

Agreeably to theſe ſentiments Lucullus ſpent a great deal of time before Amiſus, proceeding very ſlowly in the ſiege. After the winter was paſt, he left that charge to Murena, and marched againſt Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri, with a reſolution to wait for the Romans there. His army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, which he had lately collected; and in theſe he placed the greateſt confidence. Nay, he paſſed the river Lycus, and gave the Romans the challenge to meet him in the field. In conſequence of this, the cavalry engaged, and the Romans were put to the rout. Pomponius, a man of ſome dignity, was wounded and taken. Though much indiſpoſed with his wounds, he was brought before Mithridates, who aſked him, " Whether, if he ſaved his life, he would " become his friend?" " On condition you be re- " conciled to the Romans," ſaid he, " I will: but " if not, I muſt remain your enemy." The king, ſtruck with admiration of his patriotiſm, did him no injury.

Lucullus was apprehenſive of farther danger on the plain, on account of the enemy's ſuperiority in horſe, and yet he was loth to take to the mountains, which were at a conſiderable diſtance, as well as woody and difficult of aſcent. While he was in this perplexity, ſome Greeks happened to be taken, who had hid themſelves in a cave. Artemidorus, the eldeſt of

them, undertook to conduct him to a poſt where he might encamp in the utmoſt ſecurity, and where there ſtood a caſtle which commanded the plain of the Cabiri. Lucullus gave credit to his report, and began his march in the night, after he had cauſed a number of fires to be lighted in his old camp. Having got ſafely through the narrow paſſes, he gained the heights, and in the morning appeared above the enemy's heads, in a ſituation where he might fight with advantage, when he choſe it, and might not be compelled to it, if he had a mind to ſit ſtill.

At preſent neither Lucullus nor Mithridates was inclined to riſque a battle: but ſome of the king's ſoldiers happening to purſue a deer, a party of Romans went out to intercept them. This brought on a ſharp ſkirmiſh, numbers continually coming up on each ſide. At length the king's troops had the advantage.

The Romans, beholding from the camp the flight of their fellow-ſoldiers, were greatly diſturbed, and ran to Lucullus, to intreat him to lead them out, and give the ſignal for battle. But he, willing to ſhew them of how much importance in all dangerous conflicts the preſence of an able general is, ordered them to ſtand ſtill; and deſcending into the plain himſelf, ſeized the foremoſt of the fugitives, and commanded them to face about. They obeyed, and the reſt rallying with them, they eaſily put the enemy to flight, and purſued them to their entrenchments. Lucullus, at his return, inflicted on the fugitives the uſual puniſhment. He made them ſtrip to their veſts, take off their girdles, and then dig a trench twelve feet long; the reſt of the troops all the while ſtanding and looking on.

In the army of Mithridates there was a Dardarian grandee named Olthacus. The Dardarians are ſome of thoſe barbarous people who live near the lake Maeotis. Olthacus was a man fit for every warlike attempt that required ſtrength and courage, and in counſel

counſel and contrivance inferior to none. Beſide theſe accompliſhments, he was affable, eaſy and agreeable in the commerce of the world. He was always involved in ſome diſpute, or jealouſy at leaſt, of the other great men of his country, who, like him, aimed at the chief authority in it: and to bring Mithridates into his intereſt, he undertook the daring enterprize, of killing Lucullus. Mithridates commended his deſign, and publickly gave him ſome affronts, to afford him a pretence for reſentment. Olthacus laid hold on it, and rode off to Lucullus, who received him with pleaſure. For his reputation was well known in the camp; and, upon trial, the Roman general found his preſence of mind and his addreſs ſo extraordinary, that he took him to his table and his council-board.

When the Dardarian thought he had found his opportunity, he ordered his ſervants to have his horſe ready without the camp. It was now mid-day, and the ſoldiers were ſitting in the ſun or otherwiſe repoſing themſelves, when he went to the general's pavilion; expecting that none would pretend to hinder the admiſſion of a man who was intimate with Lucullus, and who ſaid, he had buſineſs of importance to communicate. And he had certainly entered, if ſleep which has been the ruin of many other generals, had not ſaved Lucullus. Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, was then in waiting, and he told Olthacus, "this was not a proper time to ſee Lucul-"lus, becauſe, after long watching and fatigue, he "was now taking ſome reſt." Olthacus did not take this denial, but ſaid, "I muſt enter, whether "you will or not, for I have great and neceſſary bu-"ſineſs to lay before him." Menedemus, incenſed at his inſolence, anſwered, "Nothing is more neceſ-"ſary than the preſervation of Lucullus," and thruſt him back with both hands. Olthacus, fearing his deſign was diſcovered, withdrew privately from the camp, took horſe, and returned to Mithridates with-

out effecting any thing. Thus the criſis in other matters, as well as in medicine, either ſaves or deſtroys.

After this, Sornatius was ſent out with ten cohorts to eſcort a convoy. Mithridates detached againſt him one of his officers named Menander. An engagement enſued, and the barbarians were routed with great loſs. Another time, Lucullus diſpatched Adrian with a conſiderable corps, to protect the party employed in collecting proviſions and ſupplying his camp. Mithridates did not let them paſs unnoticed, but ſent Menemachus and Myron againſt them, with a ſtrong body of cavalry and another of infantry. All theſe combatants, except two, the Romans put to the ſword. Mithridates diſſembled his loſs, pretending it was ſmall, and entirely owing to the miſconduct of the commanding officers. But when Adrian paſſed by his camp in great pomp, with many waggons loaded with proviſions and rich ſpoils in his train, the king's ſpirits began to droop, and the moſt diſtreſſing terror fell upon his army. They determined, therefore, to quit that poſt.

The nobility about the king began to ſend off their baggage with all the privacy they could, but would not ſuffer others to do the ſame. The ſoldiers finding themſelves joſtled and thruſt back in the gate-ways, were ſo much provoked at that treatment, that they turned upon them, fell to plundering the baggage, and killed ſeveral of them. Dorylaus, one of the generals, loſt his life for nothing but a purple robe which he had on. Hermaeus, a prieſt, was trodden under foot at the gate. Mithridates himſelf, without any attendant or groom to aſſiſt him, got out of the camp amidſt the crowd. Of all his royal ſtud there was not one horſe left him; but at laſt Ptolemy the eunuch, ſeeing him carried along with the torrent, and happening to be on horſeback, diſmounted and gave him his. The Romans preſſed hard upon him, and indeed came up time enough to have taken him.

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He was in fact almoſt in their hands; but their avarice ſaved him. The prey, which had been purſued through numberleſs conflicts and dangers, eſcaped, and the victorious Lucullus was robbed of the reward of his toils. The horſe which the king rode, was almoſt overtaken, when a mule loaded with gold came between him and his purſuers, either by accident, or by the king's contrivance. The ſoldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and came to blows about the contents; which gave Mithridates time to get off. Nor was this the only diſadvantage Lucullus experienced from their avarice. Calliſtratus, the king's ſecretary, was taken, and the Roman general had ordered him to be brought before him; but thoſe who had the charge of it, perceiving he had five hundred crowns in his girdle, diſpatched him for the money. Yet to ſuch men as theſe he gave up the plunder of the enemy's camp.

After this, he took Cabira, and many other places of ſtrength, in which he found much treaſure. He likewiſe found in their priſons many Greeks, and ſeveral of the king's own relations, confined; and, as they had long thought themſelves in the moſt deſperate circumſtances, the liberty which they gained by the favour of Lucullus, appeared to them not ſo much a deliverance, as a reſurrection and new life. One of the king's ſiſters, named Nyſſa, very happily for her, was of the number. The other ſiſters and wives of Mithridates, who ſeemed placed more remote from danger, and at a diſtance from war, all periſhed miſerably: he ſent the eunuch Bacchides to Phernacia, with orders to ſee them put to death.

Among the reſt, were two of his ſiſters, Roxana, and Statira, who were about the age of forty, and ſtill virgins; and two of his wives, both Ionians, Berenice of Chios, and Monime of Miletus. The latter was much celebrated among the Greeks. Though the king had tried every expedient to bring her to liſten to a lawleſs paſſion, and made

her a preſent of fifteen thouſand crowns at one time, ſhe rejected all his ſollicitations 'till he agreed to marriage, ſent her a diadem, and declared her queen. Before the laſt ſad meſſage, ſhe had paſſed her time very unhappily, and looked with grief and indignation on that beauty, which inſtead of a huſband had procured her an imperious maſter, and inſtead of the domeſtic comforts of marriage, a guard of barbarians. Baniſhed far from Greece, ſhe had loſt the real bleſſings of life, and where ſhe hoped for happineſs, found nothing but a dream.

When Bacchides came, and informed thoſe princeſſes they muſt die, but that they were at liberty to chuſe the death moſt eaſy and agreeable to them, Monime ſnatching the diadem from her head, applied it to her neck, that it might do the fatal office. But it broke, and the princeſs ſaid, "O curſed band! "wouldſt thou not, at leaſt, ſerve me on this occa- "ſion?" Then ſpitting upon it, ſhe threw it from her, and ſtretched out her neck to Bacchides.

Berenice took poiſon; and, as her mother, who was preſent, begged a ſhare of it, ſhe granted her requeſt. They both drank of it; and it's force operated ſufficiently upon the weaker body: but Berenice, not having taken a proper quantity, was long a dying. Bacchides therefore ſtrangled her. Roxana, one of the unmarried ſiſters, after having vented the moſt bitter imprecations and reproaches againſt Mithridates, took poiſon. Statira, however, died without one unkind or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother, when he muſt have his anxieties about his own life, for not forgetting them, but providing that they might die free and undiſhonoured. Theſe events were very diſagreeable to the native goodneſs and humanity of Lucullus.

He continued his purſuit of Mithridates as far as Talaura; where having learnt that he was fled four days before into Armenia to Tigranes, he turned back again. He ſubdued, however, the Chaldaeans and

and Tibarenians, and reduced the leſs Armenia, with the towns and caſtles. Then he ſent Appius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates; and in the mean time returned to Amiſus, which his troops were ſtill beſieging. The length of the ſiege was owing to Callimachus who commanded in the town, and was an able engineer, ſkilled in every art of attack and defence. By this he gave the Romans much trouble, for which he ſuffered afterwards. Lucullus availed himſelf of a ſtratagem, againſt which he had not guarded. He made a ſudden aſſault at the time when Callimachus uſed to draw off his men for refreſhment. Thus he made himſelf maſter of ſome part of the wall; upon which, Callimachus, either envying the Romans the plunder of the place, or with a view to facilitate his own eſcape, ſet fire to the town, and quitted it. For no one paid any attention to thoſe who fled by ſea. The flames ſpread with great rapidity around the walls, and the ſoldiers prepared themſelves to pillage the houſes. Lucullus, in commiſeration of a fine city thus ſinking into ruin, endeavoured to aſſiſt it from without, and ordered his troops to extinguiſh the fire. But they paid no regard to him; they went on collecting the ſpoils, and claſhing their arms; 'till he was forced to give up the plunder to them, in hopes of ſaving the city from the flames. It happened, however, quite otherwiſe. In rummaging every corner, with torches in their hands, they ſet fire to many of the houſes themſelves. So that when Lucullus entered the town next morning, he ſaid to his friends, with tears in his eyes, "I "have often admired the good fortune of Sylla, but "never ſo much as I do this day. He deſired to "ſave Athens, and ſucceeded. I wiſhed to imitate "him on this occaſion; but, inſtead of that, the "gods have claſſed me with *Mummius."

Nevertheleſs, he endeavoured to reſtore the place, as far as it's unhappy circumſtances would permit.

* The deſtroyer of Corinth.

A ſhower, which providentially fell about the time it was taken, extinguiſhed the fire, and ſaved many of the buildings; and, during his ſtay, he rebuilt moſt of thoſe that were deſtroyed. Such of the inhabitants as had fled he received with pleaſure, and added to them a draught of other Greeks who were willing to ſettle there. At the ſame time, he gave them a territory of a hundred and twenty furlongs.

This city was a colony of Athenians, planted here at a time when their power was at the height; and they were maſters of the ſea. Hence it was, that thoſe who fled from the tyranny of Ariſtion, retired to Amiſus, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens; fortunately enough gaining abroad what they loſt at home. The remainder of them Lucullus now cloathed in an honourable manner, gave each two hundred drachmas, and ſent them back into their own country. Tyrannio, the grammarian, was of the number. Murena begged him of Lucullus, and afterwards enfranchiſed him; in which he acted ungenerouſly by his ſuperior officer's preſent. Lucullus would not have been willing, that a man ſo honoured for his learning, ſhould be firſt conſidered as a ſlave, and then ſet free. The real liberty he was born to, muſt be taken away, before he could have this ſeeming freedom. But this was not the only inſtance, in which Murena acted with leſs generoſity than became an officer of his rank.

Lucullus then turned towards the cities of Aſia, that he might beſtow the time which was not employed in war, on the promotion of law and juſtice. Theſe had long loſt their influence in that province, which was overwhelmed with unſpeakable misfortunes. It was deſolated and enſlaved by the farmers of the revenue and by uſurers. The poor inhabitants were forced to ſell the moſt beautiful of their ſons and daughters, the ornaments and offerings in their temples, their paintings, and the ſtatues of their gods. The laſt reſource was to ſerve their creditors

as ſlaves. Their ſufferings prior to this, were more cruel and inſupportable; priſons, racks, tortures, expoſures to the burning ſun in ſummer, and in winter to the extremity of cold, amidſt ice or mire; inſomuch that ſervitude ſeemed a happy deliverance and a ſcene of peace. Lucullus, finding the cities in ſuch dreadful diſtreſs, ſoon reſcued the oppreſt from all their burthens.

In the firſt place, he ordered the creditors not to take above one * in the hundred for a month's intereſt: in the next place he aboliſhed all intereſt that exceeded the principal: the third and moſt important regulation was, that the creditor ſhould not take above a fourth part of the debtor's income. And if any one took intereſt upon intereſt, he was to loſe all. By theſe means, in leſs than four years, all the debts were paid, and the eſtates reſtored free to the proprietors. The public fine which Sylla had laid upon Aſia, was twenty thouſand talents. It had been paid twice; and yet the mercileſs collectors, by uſury upon uſury, now brought it to a hundred and twenty thouſand talents.

Theſe men, pretending they had been unjuſtly treated, raiſed a clamour in Rome againſt Lucullus, and hired a number of popular orators to ſpeak againſt him. They had, indeed, a conſiderable intereſt, becauſe many perſons who had a ſhare in the adminiſtration, were their debtors. Lucullus, on the other hand, was beloved not only by the nations which had experienced his good offices; the hearts of the other provinces were his, and they longed for a governor who had made ſuch numbers happy.

Appius Clodius, who was ſent ambaſſador to Tigranes by Lucullus, and who was his wife's brother, at firſt fell into the hands of guides that were ſubjects to Mithridates. Theſe men made him take an unneceſſary circuit of many days journey in the upper

* This was the legal intereſt among the Romans. Whence we may learn the comparative ſcarcity of money in thoſe times.

upper countries; but at laſt an enfranchiſed ſervant of his, a Syrian by nation, diſcovered to him the impoſition, and ſhewed him the right road. He then bade adieu to his barbarian guides, and in a few days paſſed the Euphrates, and reached † Antioch of Daphne.

There he had orders to wait for Tigranes, who was then employed in reducing ſome cities of Phoenicia; and he found means to bring over to the Roman intereſt, many princes who ſubmitted to the Armenian out of pure neceſſity. Among theſe was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. A number of the cities too, which Tigranes had conquered, privately ſent deputies to Clodius; and he promiſed them all the ſuccour Lucullus could give, but deſired they would make no immediate reſiſtance. The Armenian government was, indeed, an inſupportable burthen to the Greeks. Particularly, the king's pride, through a long courſe of proſperity, was become ſo enormous, that he thought whatever is great and admirable in the eyes of the world, was not only in his power, but even made for him. For, though his proſpects at firſt were ſmall and contemptible, he had ſubdued many nations, and humbled the Parthian power more than any prince before him. He had colonized Meſopotamia with Greeks, whom he draughted in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia. He had drawn the *ſcenite* * Arabians from their wandering way of life, and placed them nearer to Armenia, that he might avail himſelf of their mercantile abilities. He had many kings at his court in the capacity of ſervants, and four in particular as mace-bearers or footmen,

† Among ſeveral cities of that name this was the principal. It was called, however, by way of diſtinction, the Antioch of Daphne. Daphne was a beautiful village, about forty furlongs from it, conſecrated to the nymph of that name, and adorned with groves of a large extent, ſeveral of them probably of laurel; in the midſt of which ſtood the temple of Apollo and Diana. The grove and temple were a ſanctuary.

* Probably ſo called from their living in tents.

men, who, whenever he rode on horſeback, ran before him in ſhort jerkins; and, when he ſate to give audience, ſtood by with their hands claſped together; which laſt circumſtance ſeems a mark of the loweſt ſlavery, a token that they had not only reſigned their liberty, but that they were prepared rather to ſuffer than to act.

Appius, not in the leaſt diſconcerted at all this pomp, plainly ſet forth his commiſſion, at his firſt audience, "That he was come to demand Mithridates, whom Lucullus claimed for his triumph; otherwiſe he muſt declare war againſt Tigranes." What ever efforts that prince made to receive the meſſage with an eaſy countenance and a kind of ſmile, it was viſible to all that he was affected with the young man's bold addreſs. This was, indeed, the firſt free ſpeech he had heard for five and twenty years; for ſo long he had been a king, or rather a tyrant. However, the anſwer he gave Appius was, "That "he would not deliver up Mithridates, and if the "Romans began the war, he was able to defend "himſelf." He was diſpleaſed with Lucullus for giving him, in his letter, barely the title of king, and not that of king of kings; and therefore in his anſwer he would not addreſs him as **Imperator*. This did not hinder him from ſending magnificent preſents to Appius; and, when he found he did not accept them, he ſent more. At laſt, Appius, that he might not ſeem to reject them out of any particular pique, took a cup, and ſent back all the reſt. Then he returned with the utmoſt expedition to his general.

Before this, Tigranes had not deigned to admit Mithridates into his preſence, nor to ſpeak to a prince who was ſo nearly allied to him, and who had lately loſt ſo great a kingdom. He had ſent him in a con-

* The Engliſh word *general* is not entirely equivalent to the Greek αυτοκρατωρ or the Latin *imperator*, which was afterwards the title of the emperors.

contemptuous manner to remote marſhes and a ſickly air, where he was kept like a priſoner. But now he called him to court with great marks of honour and regard. In a private conference they exculpated themſelves at the expence of their friends. Metrodorus the Scepſian was of the number; an able ſpeaker, and a man of extenſive erudition, who had been in ſuch high favour, that he was ſtyled the king's father. It ſeems, when he went ambaſſador from Mithridates to the Armenian court, to beg aſſiſtance againſt the Romans, Tigranes ſaid, "What "would you, Metrodorus, adviſe me to in this "caſe?" whether it was that he had the intereſt of Tigranes in view, or whether he wanted to ſee Mithridates abſolutely ruined, he anſwered, "As an "ambaſſador, I ſhould exhort you to it; but, as "your counſellor, I ſhould adviſe you againſt it." Tigranes diſcovered this to Mithridates, not imagining he would reſent it in the manner he did. The unfortunate prince immediately put Metrodorus to death; and Tigranes greatly repented the ſtep he had taken, though he was not abſolutely the cauſe of that miniſter's death, but only added ſtings to the hatred Mithridates had long entertained for him. This appeared when his private memorandums were taken, in which Metrodorus was found among thoſe marked out for the ax. Tigranes buried him honourably, and ſpared no expence in his funeral, though he had been the cauſe of his death.

Amphicrates, the orator, likewiſe died at that court, if we may be allowed to record his name for the ſake of Athens. He is ſaid to have been baniſhed his country, and to have retired to Seleucia upon the Tigris, where the inhabitants deſired him to open a ſchool of rhetoric, but he anſwered in the moſt contemptuous manner, and with all the vanity of a ſophiſt, "That a plate could not contain a dolphin." From thence he went to the court of Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, where

where he ſoon made himſelf ſo obnoxious, that he was forbidden all intercourſe with the Greeks; upon which he ſtarved himſelf to death. Cleopatra beſtowed upon *him* too, a magnificent funeral, and his tomb is near a place called Sapha.

Lucullus, having eſtabliſhed peace and good laws in Aſia, did not neglect what might be conducive to elegance and pleaſure; but, during his ſtay at Epheſus, entertained the Grecian cities with ſhows, triumphal feaſts, and trials of ſkill between wreſtlers and gladiators. The cities, in return, inſtituted a feaſt to his honour, which they called *Lucullia*; and the real affection that inſpired them with the thought, was more agreeable than the honour itſelf.

When Appius was returned, and had acquainted him that it was neceſſary to go to war with Tigranes, he went back to Pontus, and put himſelf at the head of his troops. His firſt operation was to lay ſiege to Sinope, or rather to a corps of Cilicians who had thrown themſelves into the town on the part of Mithridates. Theſe, upon the approach of Lucullus, put a great number of the inhabitants to the ſword, and after ſetting fire to the place, endeavoured to eſcape in the night. But Lucullus diſcovering their intention, entered the town, and having killed eight thouſand of them who were left behind, reſtored their effects to the old inhabitants, and exerted himſelf greatly in ſaving the city from the flames. His particular inducement was the following dream. He dreamt that a perſon ſtood by him, and ſaid, "Go "forward, Lucullus; for Autolycus is coming to "meet you." When he awaked, he could form no conjecture about the ſignification of the dream. However, he took the city the ſame day, and, in purſuing the Cilicians to their ſhips, he ſaw a ſtatue lying on the ſhore, which they had not been able to get on board. The work was one of the maſter-pieces of Sthenis; and he was told that it was the ſtatue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinope. This Autolycus

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is ſaid to have been the ſon of Deimachus, and one of thoſe Theſſalians who aſſiſted Hercules in the war againſt the Amazons *. In his voyage back, along with Demoleon and Phlogius, his ſhip ſtruck on a rock of the Cherſoneſus called Pedalion, and he loſt it. He and his friends, however, ſaved their lives and their arms, and went to Sinope, which they took from the Syrians. The Syrians, who then held it, we are told, were ſo called, becauſe they were the deſcendants of Syrus the ſon of Apollo and Sinope the daughter of Aſopus. When Lucullus heard this, he recollected the obſervation of Sylla in his commentaries, "That nothing more deſerves our belief "and attention, than what is ſignified to us in "dreams."

After news was brought that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with all their forces, in order to ſeize Aſia before him, he could not help thinking it ſtrange, that the Armenian did not make uſe of Mithridates when in his glory, nor join the armies of Pontus while they were in their full ſtrength; but ſuffered them to be broken and deſtroyed; and now at laſt with cold hopes of ſucceſs began the war, or rather threw himſelf down headlong with thoſe who could ſtand no longer.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, Machares the ſon of Mithridates, who was maſter of the Boſphorus, ſent Lucullus a coronet of gold of a thouſand crowns value, and begged to be numbered among the friends and allies of Rome. Lucullus, now concluding that the firſt war was finiſhed, left Sornatius, with a corps of ſix thouſand men, to ſettle the affairs of that province; and with twelve thouſand foot and leſs than three

* Strabo tells us, Autolycus was one of the Argonauts, who after his voyage to Colchis, ſettled at Sinope, and had divine honours paid him after his death.

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three thouſand horſe, marched to meet another war. It ſeemed amazing temerity to go with a handful of men againſt ſo many warlike nations, ſo many myriads of cavalry, and ſuch a vaſt country, interſected with deep rivers, and barricaded with mountains for ever covered with ſnow. Of courſe his ſoldiers, who were not otherwiſe under the beſt diſcipline, now followed with great reluctance, and were ready to mutiny. On the other hand, the popular orators clamoured againſt him in Rome, repreſenting that he levied war after war; not that the public utility required it, but that he might always keep the command and continue in arms, and that he might accumulate riches at the riſque of the commonwealth. Theſe at laſt ſucceeded in their deſign, which was to recall Lucullus.

At preſent he reached the Euphrates by long marches. He found it ſwoln and overflowing by reaſon of the late rains, and was apprehenſive he ſhould find much delay and difficulty in collecting boats and making a bridge of them. But in the evening the flood began to ſubſide, and leſſened in ſuch a manner in the night, that next morning the river appeared much within it's channel. The people of the country ſeeing little iſlands in it's bed, which had ſeldom been viſible, and the ſtream breaking gently about them, conſidered Lucullus as ſomething more than mortal. For they ſaw the great river put on a mild and obliging air to him, and afford him a quick and eaſy paſſage.

He availed himſelf of the opportunity, and paſſed it with his army. An auſpicious omen appeared immediately after. A number of heifers, ſacred to the Perſian Diana, the goddeſs whom the inhabitants of thoſe parts particularly worſhip, paſtured on the other ſide. Theſe heifers are uſed only in the way of ſacrifice; at other times they range at large, marked with the figure of a torch, as a token of their deſignation;

nation; and it is difficult to take them when they are wanted. But now the army had no ſooner croſſed the river, than one of them went and ſtood by a rock which is deemed ſacred to the goddeſs, and hanging down her head in the manner of thoſe that are bound, offered herſelf to Lucullus as a victim. He ſacrificed alſo a bull to the Euphrates, on account of his ſafe paſſage.

He ſtayed there that whole day to refreſh his army. The next day he marched through Sophene, without doing the leaſt injury to thoſe who ſubmitted and received his troops in a proper manner. Nay, when his men wanted to ſtop and take a fort that was ſuppoſed to be full of treaſure, he pointed to mount Taurus which appeared at a diſtance, and ſaid, "Yonder is the fort you are to take; as for theſe things, they will of courſe belong to the conqueror." Then, puſhing his march, he croſſed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

As Tigranes ordered the firſt man who brought him an account of the enemy's arrival, to loſe his head for his reward, no one afterwards preſumed to mention it. He remained in ignorance, though the hoſtile fire already touched him; and with pleaſure heard his flatterers ſay, "Lucullus would be a great general, if he waited for Tigranes at Epheſus, and did not quit Aſia at the ſight of his vaſt armies." Thus it is not every man that can bear much wine, nor can an ordinary mind bear great proſperity without ſtaggering. The firſt of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth, was Mithrobarzanes; and he was but ill rewarded for the liberty he had taken. He was ſent againſt Lucullus with three thouſand horſe and a more reſpectable body of foot, with orders to take the Roman general alive, but to tread the reſt under his feet.

Part of the Roman forces were pitching their tents, and the reſt were upon the march, when their ſcouts brought intelligence that the barbarians were

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at hand. He had, therefore, his apprehenſions, that if they attacked him before his troops were all aſſembled and formed, they might be put in diſorder. The meaſure he took was to ſtay and entrench himſelf: mean time he ſent his lieutenant Sextilius with ſixteen hundred horſe, and not many more infantry, including both the light and the heavy-armed, with orders, when he approached the enemy, to ſtop and amuſe them, 'till he ſhould be informed that the entrenchments were finiſhed.

Sextilius was willing to obey his orders, but Mithrobarzanes came upon him ſo boldly, that he was forced to fight. Mithrobarzanes behaved with great bravery, but fell in the action. Then his troops took to flight, and were moſt of them cut in pieces.

After this, Tigranes left Tigranocerta, the great city which he had built, and retired to mount Taurus, where he intended to collect all his forces. But Lucullus, not giving him much time for preparation, ſent Murena to harraſs and cut off the parties on one ſide, as faſt as they came up; on the other ſide, Sextilius advanced againſt a large corps of Arabians, which was going to join the king. Sextilius came upon the Arabians as they were encamping, and killed the greateſt part of them. Murena following the ſteps of Tigranes, took his opportunity to attack him, as he was leading a great army along a rugged and narrow defile. The king himſelf fled, abandoning all his baggage. Many of the Armenians were put to the ſword, and greater numbers made priſoners.

Lucullus, after this ſucceſs, marched againſt Tigranocerta, and inveſted it with his army. There were in that city many Greeks who had been tranſplanted out of Cilicia, and many barbarians whoſe fortune had been no better than that of the Greeks, Adiabarians, Aſſyrians, Gordyenians, and Cappadocians, whoſe cities Tigranes had demoliſhed, and then removed the inhabitants, and compelled them to

ſettle in that he had built. The place was full of treaſure and rich ornaments; every private perſon, as well as grandee, to make their court to the king, ſtriving which ſhould contribute moſt to it's embelliſhment. For this reaſon Lucullus carried on the ſiege with great vigour, in the opinion that Tigranes would, contrary to his better judgment, be provoked to give him battle. And he was not miſtaken. Mithridates, by meſſengers and letters, diſſuaded the king much from hazarding a battle, and adviſed him only to cut off the Roman convoys with his cavalry. Taxiles too, who came on the part of Mithridates to cooperate with Tigranes, intreated him to avoid meeting the Roman arms, which he aſſured him were invincible.

At firſt the king heard him with patience. But when the Armenians and Gordyenians arrived with all their forces; when the kings of the Medes and Adiabenians had brought in their armies; when numbers of Arabians came from the coaſts of the * Babylonian ſea, Albanians from the Caſpian, and Iberians from the neighbourhood of the Albanians; beſide a conſiderable body gained by preſents and perſuaſion, from thoſe nations about the Araxes that live without regal government: then nothing was expreſt at the king's table or council-board, but ſanguine hopes and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of his life for attempting to oppoſe the reſolution to give battle, and Mithridates himſelf was accuſed of envying the glorious ſucceſs that would attend his ſon-in-law.

Tigranes, therefore, would not wait for him, leſt he ſhould ſhare with him the honour of the victory; but advanced immediately with all his forces; and is ſaid to have expreſt to his friends ſome uneaſineſs, "that he "ſhould have to do only with Lucullus, and not try "his ſtrength at once with all the generals of Rome." Indeed, theſe boaſts of the king do not appear entirely

* The Perſian gulph.

tirely frantic and deſtitute of reaſon, while he was ſurveying ſo many nations and princes under his ſtandard, ſuch aſtoniſhing numbers of heavy-armed infantry, and ſo many myriads of cavalry. He had twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, and fifty-five thouſand horſe of which ſeventeen thouſand were clad in ſteel, according to the account Lucullus ſent the ſenate. His infantry, divided into companies and battalions, conſiſted of a hundred and fifty thouſand men; and there were thirty-five thouſand pioneers and other labourers to make good the roads, to prepare bridges, to cleanſe the courſe of rivers, to provide wood, and to anſwer all the occaſions of the army. Theſe were drawn up behind, to give it a greater appearance of ſtrength and numbers.

When he had paſſed mount Taurus, and ſpread his troops upon the plain, he could ſee the Roman army beſieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewiſe ſaw him, and in a menacing manner pointed to their king's armies from the walls.

Lucullus, before the battle, held a council of war. Some adviſed him to quit the ſiege, and meet Tigranes with all his forces; others were of opinion, that he ſhould continue the ſiege, and not leave ſo many enemies behind him. He told them, that neither ſeparately gave good counſel, but both together did. He therefore divided his forces, and left Murena before the place with ſix thouſand men; while he with the reſt of the infantry conſiſting of twenty-four cohorts, which contained not more than ten thouſand combatants, with all his cavalry, and about 8 thouſand ſlingers and archers, marched againſt Tigranes.

He encamped on a large plain with a river before him; where his army appearing no more than a handful, afforded much matter of mirth to the flatterers of the king. Some ridiculed the diminutive appearance; others, by way of jeſt caſt lots for the ſpoil.

And there was not one of the generals and princes, who did not come and deſire to be employed alone upon that ſervice, while Tigranes needed only to ſit ſtill and look on. The king too, thinking he muſt ſhew himſelf facetious on the occaſion, made uſe of that celebrated expreſſion, "That if they came as am-"baſſadors, there were too many of them; if as ſol-"diers, too few." Thus they paſſed the firſt day in raillery.

Next morning at break of day Lucullus drew out his army. The camp of the barbarians was on the eaſt ſide of the river. But the river, where it is moſt fordable, makes a bend to the weſt. As Lucullus marched haſtily down to that quarter, Tigranes thought he was retreating. Upon this, he called to Taxiles, and ſaid with a ſcornful ſmile, "Seeſt thou "not theſe invincible Roman legions taking to "flight?" Taxiles anſwered, "I wiſh from my ſoul, "my lord, that your good genius may work a mira-"cle in your favour; but theſe legions do not uſe "their beſt accoutrements in a mere march. They "do not wear their poliſhed ſhields, nor take their "bright helmets out of their caſes, as you ſee they "have now done. All this ſplendid appearance in-"dicates their intention to fight, and to advance "againſt their enemies as faſt as poſſible."

While Taxiles was yet ſpeaking, they ſaw the eagle of the foremoſt legion make a motion to the right by order of Lucullus, and the cohorts proceed in good order to paſs the river.

Then Tigranes with much difficulty awaked from his intoxication, and exclaimed two or three times, "Are theſe men coming againſt us?" After this, he drew out his forces in a haſty and diſorderly manner; taking himſelf the command of the main body, and giving the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. Before this right wing were placed moſt of the cavalry that were armed in ſteel.

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As Lucullus was going to paſs the river, ſome of his officers admoniſhed him to beware of that day, which had been an inauſpicious, or (as they called it) a black one to the Romans. For on that day Caepio's army was defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned that memorable anſwer, "I will make this "day too an auſpicious one for Rome." It was the ſixth of October.

Having thus ſpoken, and withal exhorted his men to exert themſelves, he advanced at the head of them againſt the enemy. He was armed with a breaſt-plate of ſteel formed in ſcales, which caſt a ſurpriſing luſtre; and the robe he wore over it, was odorned with fringe. He drew his ſword immediately, to ſhew his troops the neceſſity of coming hand to hand with an enemy who were accuſtomed to fight at a diſtance; and by the vigour of their charge not to leave them room to exerciſe their miſſive weapons. Obſerving that the enemy's heavy-armed cavalry, upon which they had their chief dependance, was covered by a hill that was plain and even at top, and which, with an extent of only four furlongs, was not very difficult to aſcend, he diſpatched his Thracian and Gauliſh horſe, with orders to take them in flank, and to ſtrike at nothing but the ſhafts of their pikes. Their whole ſtrength, indeed, conſiſts in the pike, and they have no other weapon, either offenſive or defenſive, that they can uſe, by reaſon of their heavy and unwieldy armour, in which they are, as it were, immured.

Mean while he began to climb the hill with two companies of infantry, and the ſoldiers followed him with great readineſs, when they ſaw him, encumbered as he was with his armour, the firſt to labour on foot up the aſcent. When he had reached the ſummit, he ſtood on the moſt conſpicuous part of it, and cried out, "The victory is our's, my fellow-"ſoldiers, the victory is ours." At the ſame time he advanced againſt the heavy-armed cavalry, and

ordered his men not to make any uſe of their javelins, but to come to cloſe action, and to aim their blows at their enemies legs and thighs, in which parts alone they were not armed. There was no need, however, to put this in execution. For, inſtead of ſtanding to receive the Romans they ſet up a cry of fear, and moſt deſpicably fled without ſtriking a ſtroke. In their flight, they and their horſes, heavy with armour, ran back upon their own infantry, and put them in confuſion: inſomuch that all thoſe myriads were routed, without ſtanding to receive one wound, or ſpilling one drop of blood. Multitudes, however, were ſlain in their flight, or rather in their attempt to fly; their ranks being ſo thick and deep, that they entangled and impeded each other.

Tigranes rode off, one of the firſt, with a few attendants; and ſeeing his ſon taking his ſhare in his misfortune, he took the diadem from his head, gave it him with tears, and deſired him to ſave himſelf in the beſt manner he could by taking ſome other road. The young prince did not venture to wear it, but put it in the hands of one of his moſt faithful ſervants, who happened afterwards to be taken and brought to Lucullus: By this means the royal diadem of Tigranes added to the honours of the ſpoil. It is ſaid that of the foot there fell above a hundred thouſand, and of the horſe very few eſcaped; whereas the Romans had but five killed, and a hundred wounded. * Antiochus the philoſopher, in his treatiſe concerning the Gods, ſpeaking of this action, ſays, the ſun never beheld ſuch another. † Strabo, another philoſopher, in his hiſtorical commentaries informs us, that the Romans were aſhamed, and ridiculed each other, for having employed

* Antiochus of Eſcalon. Cicero was his diſciple.

† Strabo, the geographer and hiſtorian, was alſo a philoſopher of the Stoic form.

ployed weapons againſt ſuch vile ſlaves. And Livy tells us, the Romans, with ſuch inferior numbers, never engaged ſuch a multitude as this. The victors did not, indeed, make up the twentieth part of the vanquiſhed. The moſt able and experienced commanders among the Romans paid the higheſt compliments to the generalſhip of Lucullus, principally, becauſe he had defeated two of the greateſt and moſt powerful kings in the world by methods entirely different; the one by an expeditious and the other by a ſlow proceſs. He ruined Mithridates, when in the height of his power, by protracting the war, and Tigranes by the celerity of his movements. Indeed, among all the generals in the world, there have been very few inſtances of any one's availing himſelf of delay for execution, or of expedition for ſecurity.

Hence it was, that Mithridates made no haſte to come to action, or to join Tigranes; imagining that Lucullus would proceed with his uſual caution and ſlowneſs. But as ſoon as he met a few Armenians on the road, with the greateſt marks of conſternation upon them, he formed ſome conjecture of what had happened; and when many more came up naked and wounded, he was too well aſſured of the loſs, and enquired for Tigranes. Though he found him in the moſt deſtitute and deplorable condition, he did not offer him the leaſt inſult. Inſtead of that, he diſmounted, and bewailed with him their common misfortunes; gave him his own royal equipage, and held up to him a proſpect of better ſucceſs. They began to levy other forces.

In Tigranocerta the Greeks had mutinied againſt the barbarians, and wanted to deliver up the city to Lucullus. Accordingly he gave the aſſault, and took it. After he had ſecured the royal treaſures, he gave up the plunder of the town to his ſoldiers, and they found there, beſides other rich booty, eight

thouſand talents in coined money. Lucullus added eight hundred drachmas to each man's ſhare.

Being informed that there were found in the town a number of ſuch artiſts as are requiſite in theatrical exhibitions, whom Tigranes had collected from all parts, for opening the theatre he had built, he made uſe of them in the games and other public diverſions in honour of his victory.

He ſent back the Greeks to their own countries, and furniſhed them with neceſſaries for that purpoſe. He likewiſe permitted the barbarians who had been compelled to ſettle there, to return to their reſpective abodes. Thus it happened that, by the diſperſion of the people of one city, many cities recovered their former inhabitants. For which reaſon Lucullus was reverenced by them as a patron and founder. He ſucceeded alſo in his other undertakings agreeably to his merit; being more deſirous of the praiſe of juſtice and humanity, than of that which ariſes from military atchievements. For in thoſe the army claims no ſmall part, and fortune a greater; whereas the other are proofs of a gentle diſpoſition and ſubdued mind, and by them Lucullus brought the barbarians to ſubmit without the ſword. The kings of the Arabs came over to him, and put their poſſeſſions in his power; the whole nation of Sophene followed their example; and the Gordyenians were ſo well inclined to ſerve him, that they were willing to quit their habitations, and follow him with their wives and children. The cauſe was this:

Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, unable, as has been ſaid, to ſupport the tyranny of Tigranes, applied privately through Appius to Lucullus, and deſired to be admitted as an ally. This application being diſcovered, he was put to death with his wife and children, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus, however, did not forget it, but, as he paſſed through Gordyene, took care that Zarbienus ſhould have a magnificent funeral, and adorned the pile with

with gold ſtuffs and royal veſtments found among the ſpoils of Tigranes. The Roman general himſelf ſet fire to it, and. together with the friends and relations of the deceaſed, offered the accuſtomed libations, declaring him his friend and an ally of the Roman people. He cauſed a monument, too, to be erected to his memory at a conſiderable expence: for there was found in the treaſury of that prince a great quantity of gold and ſilver; there were found alſo in his ſtorehouſes three millions of medimni of wheat. This was a ſufficient proviſion for the ſoldiers; and Lucullus was much admired for making the war maintain itſelf, and carrying it on without taking one drachma out of the public treaſury.

About this time, there came an embaſſy from the king of Parthia to ſollicit his friendſhip and alliance. Lucullus received the propoſal with pleaſure, and ſent ambaſſadors in his turn; who, when they were at that prince's court, diſcovered that he was unreſolved what part to act, and that he was privately treating with Tigranes for Meſopotamia, as a reward for the ſuccours with which he ſhould furniſh him. As ſoon as Lucullus was ſenſible of this, he determined to let Tigranes and Mithridates alone, as adverſaries already tired out, and to try his ſtrength with the Parthian, by entering his territories. He thought it would be glorious, if in one expedition, during the tide of good fortune, like an able wreſtler, he could throw three princes ſucceſſively, and traverſe the dominions of three of the moſt powerful kings under the ſun, perpetually victorious.

For this reaſon he ſent orders to Sornatius and his other officers in Pontus to bring their forces to him, as he intended to begin his march for Parthia from Gordyene. Theſe officers had already found their ſoldiers refractory and obſtinate, but now they ſaw them abſolutely mutinous, and not to be wrought upon

upon by any method of perſuaſion or of force. On the contrary, they loudly declared they would not even ſtay there, but would go and leave Pontus itſelf unguarded. When an account of this behaviour was brought to Lucullus, it corrupted the troops he had with him; and they were very ready to receive theſe impreſſions, loaded as they were with wealth, enervated with luxury, and panting after repoſe. Upon hearing, therefore, of the bold terms in which the others had expreſt themſelves, they ſaid they acted like men, and ſet an example worthy of imitation; "and ſurely," continued they, "our ſervices entitle "us to a diſcharge, that we may return to our coun-"try, and enjoy ourſelves in ſecurity and quiet."

Theſe ſpeeches, and worſe than theſe, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up all thoughts of his Parthian expedition, and marched once more againſt Tigranes. It was now the height of ſummer, and yet when he had gained the ſummit of mount Taurus, he ſaw with regret the corn only green; ſo backward are the ſeaſons in thoſe parts, by reaſon of the * cold that prevails there. He deſcended, however, into the plain, and beat the Armenians who ventured to face him in two or three ſkirmiſhes. Then he plundered the villages at pleaſure, and, by taking the convoys deſigned for Tigranes, brought that want upon the enemy, which he had dreaded himſelf.

He omitted no meaſure which might bring them to a deciſive battle; he drew a line of circumvallation about their camp; he laid waſte their country before their eyes: but they had been too often defeated, to think of riſquing an engagement. He therefore marched againſt Artaxata the capital of Tigranes, where he had left his wives and children; concluding he would not ſuffer it to be taken, without attempting it's relief.

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* This particular is confirmed by modern travellers. They tell us, the ſnow lies there 'till Auguſt.

It is ſaid, that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus was ſubdued by the Romans, addreſſed himſelf to Artaxas king of Armenia. While he was at that prince's court, beſide inſtructing him in other important matters, he pointed out to him a place which, though it then lay neglected, afforded the happieſt ſituation imaginable for a city. He gave him the plan of one, and exhorted him to put it in execution. The king, charmed with the motion, deſired him to take the direction of the work; and in a ſhort time there was ſeen a large and beautiful city, which bore that prince's name, and was declared the metropolis of Armenia.

When Lucullus advanced to lay ſiege to this place, the patience of Tigranes failed him. He marched in queſt of the Romans, and the fourth day encamped over againſt them, being ſeparated from them only by the river Arſanias, which they muſt neceſſarily paſs in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus having ſacrificed to the gods, in full perſuaſion that the victory was his own, paſſed over in order of battle with twelve cohorts in front. The reſt were placed in the rear, to prevent their being ſurrounded by the enemy. For their motions were watched by a large and ſelect body of cavalry, covered by ſome flying ſquadrons of Mardian archers and Iberian ſpearmen, in whoſe courage and ſkill Tigranes, of all his foreign troops, placed the higheſt confidence. Their behaviour, however, did not diſtinguiſh them. They exchanged a few blows with the Roman horſe, but did not wait the charge of the infantry. They diſperſed and fled, and the Roman cavalry purſued them in the different routes they had taken.

Tigranes now ſeeing his advantage, advanced with his own cavalry. Lucullus was a little intimidated at their numbers and the ſplendor of their appearance. He therefore called his cavalry off from the purſuit; and in the mean time was the foremoſt to advance againſt

againſt the *nobility, who with the flower of the army were about the king's perſon. But they fled at the ſight of him, without ſtriking a blow. Of the three kings that were then in the action, the flight of Mithridates ſeems to have been the moſt diſgraceful, for he did not ſtand the very ſhouts of the Romans. The purſuit continued the whole night, 'till wearied with the carnage, and ſatisfied with the priſoners, and the booty they had made, the Romans drew off. Livy tells us, that in the former battle there were greater numbers killed and taken priſoners; but in this, perſons of higher quality.

Lucullus, elevated with his ſucceſs, reſolved to penetrate the upper country, and to finiſh the deſtruction of this barbarian prince. It was now the autumnal equinox, and he met with ſtorms he did not expect. The ſnow fell almoſt conſtantly; and when the ſky was clear, the froſt was ſo intenſe, that by reaſon of the extreme cold the horſes could hardly drink of the rivers; nor could they paſs them but with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe the ice broke, and cut the ſinews of their legs. Beſides, the greateſt part of their march was through cloſe and woody roads, where the troops were daily wet with the ſnow that lodged upon the trees; and they had only damp places wherein to paſs the night.

They had not, therefore, followed Lucullus many days, before they began to be refractory. At firſt they had recourſe to intreaties, and ſent their tribunes to intercede for them. Afterwards they met in a more tumultuous manner, and their murmurs were heard all over the camp by night; and this, perhaps, is the ſureſt token of a mutiny. Lucullus tried what every

* In the original it is Σατραπων; by which in all probability is meant the king's body guard conſiſting chiefly of the nobility. According to Livy, no leſs than ſixty of Tigranes's friends and great officers walked in the proceſſion of Lucullus's triumph. Nor is it to be wondered, that he had a guard of his own nobility, when he had conquered princes for his menial ſervants.

every milder meaſure could do: he exhorted them only to compoſe themſelves a little longer, 'till they had deſtroyed the Armenian Carthage, built by Hannibal the greateſt enemy to the Roman name. But, finding his eloquence ineffectual, he marched back, and paſſed the ridge of mount Taurus another way. He came down into Mygdonia, an open and fertile country, where ſtands a great and populous city, which the barbarians called Niſibis, and the Greeks * Antioch of Mygdonia. Gouras, brother to Tigranes, had the title of governor on account of his dignity; but the commander in fact was Callimachus, who, by his great abilities as an engineer, had given Lucullus ſo much trouble at Amiſus.

Lucullus, having inveſted the place, availed himſelf of all the arts that are uſed in a ſiege, and preſſed the place with ſo much vigour that he carried it ſword in hand. Gouras ſurrendered himſelf, and he treated him with great humanity. He would not, however, liſten to Callimachus, though he offered to diſcover to him a vaſt quantity of hidden treaſure; but put him in fetters, in order that he might ſuffer capital puniſhment for ſetting fire to the city of Amiſus, and by that means depriving him of the honour of ſhewing his clemency to the Greeks.

Hitherto one might ſay, fortune had followed Lucullus, and fought for him. But from this time the gales of her favour fell; he could do nothing but with infinite difficulty, and ſtruck upon every rock in his way. He behaved, indeed, with all the valour and perſevering ſpirit of a good general, but his actions had no longer their wonted glory and favourable acceptance with the world. Nay, toſſed as he was on the waves of fruitleſs contention, he was in danger of loſing the glory he had already acquired. For great part of his misfortunes he might blame himſelf, becauſe, in the firſt place, he would never ſtudy to oblige

* It was called Antioch, becauſe in it's delicious walks and pleaſing ſituation it reſembled the Antioch of Daphne.

oblige the common ſoldiers, but looked upon every compliance with their inclinations, as the ſource of his diſgrace and the deſtruction of his authority. What was of ſtill greater conſequence, he could not behave in an eaſy affable manner to thoſe who were upon a footing with him in point of rank and birth, but treated them with haughtineſs, and conſidered himſelf as greatly their ſuperior. Theſe blemiſhes Lucullus had amidſt many perfections. He was tall, well-made, graceful, eloquent, and had abilities for the adminiſtration as well as for the field.

Saluſt tells us, the ſoldiers were ill-affected to him from the beginning of the war, becauſe he made them keep the field two winters ſucceſſively, the one before Cyzicum and the other before Amiſus. The reſt of the winters were very diſagreeable to them: they either paſſed them in hoſtilities againſt ſome enemy; or, if they happened to be among friends, they were obliged to live in tents. For Lucullus never once ſuffered his troops to enter any Grecian city or any other in alliance with Rome.

While the ſoldiers were of themſelves thus ill-diſpoſed, they were made ſtill more mutinous by the demagogues at home; who, through envy to Lucullus, accuſed him of protracting the war from a love of command and of the riches it procured him. He had almoſt the entire direction (they ſaid) of Cilicia, Aſia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces as far as the Phaſis: and now he was pillaging the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been ſent to ſtrip, not to ſubdue kings. So Lucius Quintius, one of the tribunes, is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf; the ſame who was principally concerned in procuring a decree, that Lucullus ſhould have a ſucceſſor ſent him, and that moſt of his troops ſhould have their diſcharge.

To theſe misfortunes was added another, which abſolutely ruined the affairs of Lucullus. Publius Clodius,

Clodius, a man of the utmoſt inſolence and effrontery, was brother to his wife, who was ſo abandoned a woman, that it was believed ſhe had a criminal commerce with him. He now bore arms under Lucullus, and imagined he had not the poſt he deſerved; for he wanted the firſt: and on account of his diſorderly life, many were put before him. Finding this, he practiſed with the Fimbrian troops, and endeavoured to ſet them againſt Lucullus, by flattering ſpeeches and inſinuations, to which they were neither unaccuſtomed, nor unwilling to attend. For theſe were the men whom Fimbria had formerly perſuaded to kill the conſul Flaccus, and to appoint him their general. Still retaining ſuch inclinations, they received Clodius with pleaſure, and called him the ſoldier's friend. He did, indeed, pretend to be concerned at their ſufferings, and uſed to ſay---"Shall there no period be put to their wars "and toils? ſhall they go on fighting one nation "after another, and wear out their lives in wander- "ing over the world? and what is the reward of ſo "many laborious expeditions? what, but to guard "the waggons and camels of Lucullus loaded with "cups of gold and precious ſtones? whereas Pom- "pey's ſoldiers, already diſcharged, ſit down with "their wives and children upon fertile eſtates and in "agreeable towns; not for having driven Mithri- "dates and Tigranes into inacceſſible deſarts, and "deſtroying the royal cities in Aſia, but for fighting "with fugitives in Spain and ſlaves in Italy. If we "muſt for ever have our ſwords in our hands, let "us reſerve all our hearts, and what remains of our "limbs, for a general who thinks the wealth of his "men his greateſt ornament."

Theſe complaints againſt Lucullus corrupted his ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that they would neither follow him againſt Tigranes, nor yet againſt Mithridates, who from Armenia had thrown himſelf into Pontus, and was beginning to recover his authority there.

there. They pretended it was impracticable to march in the winter, and therefore loitered in Gordyene, expecting Pompey or ſome other general would come as ſucceſſor to Lucullus. But when intelligence was brought that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and was marching againſt Sornatius and Triarius, they were aſhamed of their inaction, and told Lucullus he might lead them wherever he pleaſed.

Triarius being informed of the approach of Lucullus, was ambitious, before he arrived, to ſeize the victory which he thought perfectly ſecure; in conſequence of which he hazarded and loſt a great battle. It is ſaid that above ſeven thouſand Romans were killed, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions and twenty-four tribunes. Mithridates likewiſe took their camp. Lucullus arrived a few days after, fortunately enough for Triarius, whom he concealed from the ſoldiers who wanted to wreak their vengeance upon him.

As Mithridates avoided an action with Lucullus, and choſe to wait for Tigranes who was coming with a great army, Lucullus, in order to prevent their junction, determined to go in queſt of Tigranes once more. But as he was upon his march, the Fimbrians mutinied and deſerted his ſtandard, alledging that they were diſcharged by an expreſs decree, and no longer obliged to ſerve under Lucullus, when thoſe provinces were conſigned to another. Lucullus, on this occaſion, ſubmitted to many things beneath his dignity. He applied to the private men one by one, going round to their tents with a ſupplicating aſpect and with tears in his eyes; nay, he condeſcended to take ſome of them by the hand. But they rejected all his advances, and, throwing down their empty purſes before him, bade him go and fight the enemy himſelf, ſince he was the only perſon that knew how to make his advantage of it.

However, as the other ſoldiers interpoſed, the Fimbrians were prevailed upon to ſtay all the ſummer,

on condition that if no enemy faced them in the field during that time, they ſhould be at liberty to retire. Lucullus was obliged either to accept this propoſal, or to abandon the country, and leave it an eaſy prey to the barbarians. He kept the troops together, therefore, without pretending to exerciſe any act of power upon them, or to lead them out to battle; thinking it all he could expect, if they would but remain upon the ſpot. At the ſame time, he looked on, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia, and Mithridates was growing ſtrong and inſolent again; though he had acquainted the ſenate by letter, that he was abſolutely conquered, and deputies were come to ſettle the affairs of Pontus, as a province entirely reduced. Theſe deputies, on their arrival, found that he was not even maſter of himſelf, but expoſed to every inſtance of inſult and contempt from his own ſoldiers. Nay, they treated their general with ſuch wanton mockery, as, when the ſummer was paſt, to arm, and challenge the enemy who were now retired into quarters. They ſhouted as in the charge, made paſſes in the air, and then left the camp, calling Lucullus to witneſs that they had ſtayed the time they promiſed him.

Pompey wrote to the other legions to attend him. For, through his intereſt with the people and the flattering inſinuations of the orators, he was already appointed general againſt Mithridates and Tigranes. To the ſenate, indeed, and all the beſt of the Romans, Lucullus appeared to have very hard treatment, ſince a perſon was ſent to ſucceed him, not ſo much in the war, as in his triumph; and he was robbed rather of the prize of honour, than of the command. Thoſe that were upon the ſpot, found the matter ſtill more invidious. Lucullus had no longer the power, either of rewarding or puniſhing. Pompey ſuffered no man to wait upon him about any buſineſs whatever, or to pay any regard to the regulations he had made in concurrence with the ten com-

miſſioners. He forbad it by expreſs and public orders; and his influence was great, on account of his coming with a more reſpectable army.

Yet their friends thought it proper that they ſhould come to an interview; and accordingly they did ſo in a village of Galatia. They addreſſed each other with much politeneſs, and with mutual compliments on their great ſucceſs. Lucullus was the older man, but Pompey had ſuperior dignity, for he had commanded in more wars, and had been honoured with two triumphs. Each had the *faſces* carried before him, adorned with laurel on account of their reſpective victories: but as Pompey had travelled a long way through dry and parched countries, the laurels about his *faſces* were withered. The lictors that preceded Lucullus, obſerving this, freely gave them a ſufficient quantity of their freſh and green ones; which Pompey's friends conſidered as an auſpicious circumſtance. And, in fact, the great actions of Lucullus did caſt a luſtre over this expedition of Pompey.

This interview, however, had no good effect: They parted with greater rancour in their hearts than they entertained at their meeting. Pompey annulled the acts of Lucullus; and taking the reſt of his troops from him, left him only ſixteen hundred men for his triumph; and even theſe followed him with reluctance. So ill qualified or ſo unfortunate was Lucullus, with reſpect to the firſt and greateſt requiſite in a general, gaining the hearts of his ſoldiers. Had this been added to his many other great and admirable talents, his courage, his vigilance, his prudence and juſtice, the Roman empire would not have been terminated, on the ſide of Aſia, by the Euphrates, but by the Hyrcanian ſea and the extremities of the earth. For Tigranes had already conquered the other nations; and the power of the Parthians was neither ſo great nor ſo united in itſelf, during this expedition of Lucullus, as it was afterwards in the time of Craſſus. On the contrary, they

they were weakened by inteſtine wars and by hoſtilities with their neighbours, inſomuch that they were not able to repel the inſults of the Armenians. In my opinion, indeed, the advantages which his country reaped from Lucullus, were not equivalent to the calamities which he occaſioned others to bring upon it. The trophies of Armenia juſt in the neighbourhood of Parthia, the palms of Tigranocerta and Niſibis, with all their vaſt wealth carried in triumph into Rome, and the captive diadem of Tigranes adorning the ſhow, drew Craſſus into Aſia; as if its barbarous inhabitants had been a ſure and eaſy prey. However, when he met the Parthian arrows, he ſoon found that the ſucceſs of Lucullus was owing to his own courage and capacity, and not to the folly and effeminacy of the enemy.

Upon his return to Rome, Lucullus found his brother Marcus impeached by Memmius, for the practices he had given into, during his quaeſtorſhip, by order of Sylla. And when Marcus was acquittted, Memmius turned againſt Lucullus himſelf; alledging that he had converted a great deal of the booty to his own private uſe, and had wilfully protracted the war. By theſe means he endeavoured to exaſperate the people againſt him, and to prevail with them to refuſe him his triumph. Lucullus was in great danger of loſing it; but at this criſis the firſt and greateſt men in Rome mixed with the tribes, and, after much canvaſſing and the moſt engaging application, with great difficulty procured him the triumph.

Its glory did not conſiſt, like that of others, in the length of the proceſſion, or in the aſtoniſhing pomp and quantity of ſpoils, but in exhibiting the enemy's arms, the engines and other warlike equipage of the kings. With theſe he had adorned the Circus Flaminius, and they made a very agreeable and reſpectable ſhow. In the proceſſion there were a few of the heavy-armed cavalry, and ten chariots armed

with ſcythes. Theſe were followed by ſixty grandees, either friends or lieutenants of the kings. After them were drawn a hundred and ten gallies with brazen beaks. The next objects were a ſtatue of Mithridates in maſſy gold, full ſix feet high, and his ſhield ſet with precious ſtones. Then came up twenty exhibitions of ſilver veſſels, and two and thirty more of gold cups, arms and gold coin. All theſe things were borne by men. Theſe were followed by eight mules which carried beds of gold, and fifty ſix more, loaded with ſilver bullion. After theſe came a hundred and ſeven other mules, bearing ſilver coin to the amount of near two million ſeven hundred thouſand drachmas. The proceſſion was cloſed with the regiſters of the money with which he had furniſhed Pompey for the war with the pirates, what he had remitted the quaeſtors for the public treaſury, and the diſtributions he had made among the ſoldiers at the rate of nine hundred and fifty drachmas each man. The triumph concluded with a magnificent entertainment provided for the whole city and the adjacent villages.

He now divorced Clodia for her infamous intrigues, and married Servilia the ſiſter of Cato; but this ſecond match was not more fortunate than the firſt. Servilia wanted no ſtain which Clodia had, except that of a commerce with her brothers. In other reſpects ſhe was equally profligate and abominable. He forced himſelf, however, to endure her a long time, out of reverence to Cato, but at laſt repudiated her too.

The ſenate had conceived great hopes of Lucullus, that he would prove a counterpoiſe to the tyranny of Pompey, and a protector of the whole patrician order; the rather becauſe he had acquired ſo much honour and authority by his great actions. He gave up the cauſe, however, and quitted all pretenſions to the adminiſtration: Whether it was that he ſaw the

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conſtitution in too ſickly and declining a condition to be corrected; or whether, as others will have it, that being ſatiated with public honours, and having gone through many labours and conflicts which had not the moſt fortunate iſſue, he choſe to retire to a life of eaſe and indulgence. And they commend this change in his conduct, as much better than the diſtempered meaſures of Marius; who, after his victories over the Cimbri and all his glorious atchievements, was not content with the admiration of his country-men; but from an inſatiable thirſt of power, contended, in the decline of life, with the ambition of young men, falling into dreadful crimes, and into ſufferings ſtill more dreadful. "How much happier," ſaid they, would it have been for Cicero "if he had retired after the affair of Catiline; and for "Scipio, if he had furled his ſails, when he had "added Numantia to Carthage. For there is a pe"riod when we ſhould bid adieu to political conteſts; "theſe, as well as thoſe of wreſtlers, being abſurd, "when the ſtrength and vigour of life is gone."

On the other hand, Craſſus and Pompey ridiculed Lucullus for giving into a life of pleaſure and expence; thinking it full as unſeaſonable at his time of life to plunge into luxury, as to direct the adminiſtration or lead armies into the field. Indeed, the life of Lucullus does look like the antient comedy,* where firſt we ſee great actions both political and military, and afterwards feaſts, debauches, I had almoſt ſaid maſquerades, races by torch-light, and every kind of frivolous amuſement. For among frivolous amuſements I cannot but reckon his ſumptuous villas, walks and baths; and ſtill more ſo, the paintings, ſtatues, and other works of art, which he collected at an immenſe expence; idly ſquandering away upon

* The antient ſatyrical or comic pieces were partly tragical, and partly comical. The Cyclops of Euripides is the only piece of that kind which is extant.

them the vaſt fortune which he had amaſſed in the wars*. Inſomuch that even now, when luxury has made ſo much greater advances, the gardens of Lucullus are numbered with thoſe of kings, and the moſt magnificent even of thoſe. When Tubero, the ſtoic, beheld his works on the ſea-coaſt near Naples, the hills he had excavated for vaults and cellars, the reſervoirs he had formed about his houſes, to receive the ſea for the feeding of his fiſh, and his edifices in the ſea itſelf; the philoſopher called him Xerxes † in a gown. Beſide theſe, he had the moſt ſuperb pleaſure-houſes in the country near Tuſculum, adorned with grand galleries and open ſaloons, as well for the proſpect as for walks. Pompey, on a viſit there, blamed Lucullus for having made the villa commodious only for the ſummer, and abſolutely uninhabitable in the winter. Lucullus anſwered with a ſmile, "What then, do you think I "have not ſo much ſenſe as the cranes and ſtorks, "which change their habitations with the ſeaſons?"

A praetor, who wanted to exhibit magnificent games, applied to Lucullus for ſome purple robes for the chorus in his tragedy; and he told him, he would enquire, whether he could furniſh him or not. Next day he aſked him, how many he wanted. The praetor anſwered, "a hundred would be ſufficient:" Upon which Lucullus ſaid, "He might have twice "that number if he pleaſed." The poet Horace makes this remark on the occaſion,

Poor is the houſe, where plenty has not ſtores,
That miſs the maſter's eye——

His

* Plutarch's philoſophy ſeems a little too ſevere on this occaſion; for it is not eaſy to ſee how public fortunes of this kind can be more properly laid out than in the encouragement of the arts. It is to be obſerved however, that the immenſe wealth Lucullus reſerved to himſelf in his Aſiatic expedition in ſome meaſure juſtifies the complaints of his army on that ſubject.

† This refers to the hills Lucullus bored for the completion of his vaults, or for the admiſſion of water. Xerxes had bored through mount Athos, and made a paſſage under it for his ſhips,

His daily repaſts were like thoſe of a man ſuddenly grown rich; pompous not only in the beds which were covered with purple carpets, the ſide-boards of plate ſet with precious ſtones, and all the entertainment which muſicians and comedians could furniſh; but in the vaſt variety and exquiſite dreſſing of the proviſions. Theſe things excited the admiration of men of unenlarged minds. Pompey, therefore, was highly applauded for the anſwer he gave his phyſician, in a fit of ſickneſs. The phyſician, had ordered him to eat a thruſh,* and his ſervants told him, "That as it was ſummer, there were no thruſhes to "be found except in the menageries of Lucullus." But he would not ſuffer them to apply for them there; and ſaid to his phyſician, "Muſt Pompey then have "died, if Lucullus had not been an epicure? At the ſame time he bade them provide him ſomething which was to be had without difficulty.

Cato, though he was a friend, as well as relation, to Lucullus, was ſo much diſpleaſed with the luxury in which he lived, that when a young man made a long and unſeaſonable ſpeech in the houſe about frugality and temperance, Cato roſe up and ſaid, "Will "you never have done? Do you, who have the "wealth of Craſſus, and live like Lucullus, pretend "to ſpeak like Cato?" But ſome, though they allow that there was ſuch a rebuke, ſay it came from another perſon.

That Lucullus was not only delighted with this way of living, but even piqued himſelf upon it, appears from ſeveral of his remarkable ſayings. He entertained for a conſiderable time ſome Greeks who had travelled to Rome, 'till, remembering the ſimplicity of diet in their own country, they were aſhamed

* The Greek μύραι, alſo ſignifies a ſea-fiſh, as appears from Ariſtotle and Athenæus; and it is not eaſy to ſay which is here meant: For Lucullus was no leſs curious in his fiſh-ponds than in his aviaries; and by admitting the ſalt-water into them, could be ſupplied with every ſpecies through every ſeaſon.

to wait on him any longer, and desired to be excused on account of the daily expence they brought upon him. He smiled and said, "It is true, my Grecian "friends, some part of this provision is for you; "but the greatest part is for Lucullus.". Another time, when he happened to sup alone, and saw but one table and a very moderate provision, he called the servant who had the care of these matters, and expressed his dissatisfaction. The servant said he thought, as no body was invited, his master would not want an expensive supper. "What!" said he, "didst thou not know that this evening Lucullus "sups with Lucullus?" As this was the subject of much conversation in Rome, Cicero and Pompey addressed him one day in the forum, when he appeared to be perfectly disengaged. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and though he had had some difference with Pompey about the command of the army, yet they used to see each other and converse freely and familiarly. Cicero, after the common salutations, asked him, "Whether he "was at leisure to see company?" He answered, "Nothing could be more agreeable," and pressed them to come to his house. "Then we will wait on "you," said Cicero, "this evening, on condition you "give us nothing but what is provided for yourself." Lucullus made some difficulty of accepting the condition, and desired them to put off their favour 'till another day. But they insisted, it should be that very evening, and would not suffer him to speak to his servants, lest he should order some addition to the supper. Only, at his request, they allowed him to tell one of them in their presence, "he should "sup that evening in the Apollo,"; which was the name of one of his most magnificent rooms. The persons invited had no notion of his stratagem; but, it seems, each of his dining-rooms had its particular allowance for provisions, and service of plate, as well as other furniture. So that the servants hearing what

room

room he would ſup in, knew very well what expence they were to go to, and what ſide-board and carpets they were to uſe. The ſtated charge of an entertainment in the Apollo, was fifty thouſand drachmas, and the whole ſum was laid out that evening. Pompey, of courſe when he ſaw ſo vaſt and expenſive a proviſion, was ſurpriſed at the expedition with which it was prepared. In this reſpect Lucullus uſed his riches with all the diſregard one might expect to be ſhewn to ſo many captives and barbarians.

But the great expence he incurred in collecting books, deſerves a ſerious approbation. The number of volumes was great, and they were written in elegant hands; yet the uſe he made of them was more honourable than the acquiſition. His libraries were open to all: the Greeks repaired at pleaſure to the galleries and porticos, as to the retreat of the Muſes, and there ſpent whole days in converſation on matters of learning; delighted to retire to ſuch a ſcene from buſineſs and from care. Lucullus himſelf often joined theſe learned men in their walks, and conferred with them; and when he was applied to about the affairs of their country, he gave them his aſſiſtance and advice. So that his houſe was in fact an aſylum and ſenate-houſe to all the Greeks that viſited Rome.

He had a veneration for philoſophy in general, and there was no ſect which he abſolutely rejected. But his principal and original attachment was to the Academy; not that which is called the new, though that flouriſhed and was ſupported by Philo who walked in the ſteps of Carneades; but the old academy, whoſe doctrines were then taught by Antiochus of Aſcalon, a man of the moſt perſuaſive powers. Lucullus ſought his friendſhip with great avidity; and having prevailed with him to give him his company, ſet him to oppoſe the diſciples of Philo. Cicero was of the number, and wrote an ingenious book againſt the old academy, in which he makes

Lucullus

Lucullus defend the principal doctrine in diſpute, namely, that there is ſuch a thing as certain knowledge, and himſelf maintains the contrary. The book is entitled Lucullus. They were, indeed, as we have obſerved, ſincere friends, and acted upon the ſame principle in the adminiſtration. For Lucullus had not entirely abandoned the concerns of government; he only gave up the point as to the firſt influence and direction. The conteſt for that, he ſaw might be attended not only with danger but diſgrace, and therefore he ſoon left it to Craſſus and Cato. When he had refuſed to take the lead, thoſe who looked upon the power of Pompey with a ſuſpicious eye, pitched upon Craſſus and Cato to ſupport the patrician intereſts. Lucullus, notwithſtanding, gave his attendance in the forum, when the buſineſs of his friends required it; and he did the ſame in the ſenate-houſe, when there was any ambitious deſign of Pompey to combat. He got Pompey's orders annulled, which he had made after the conqueſt of the two kings; and, with the aſſiſtance of Cato, threw out his bill for *a diſtribution of lands among his veterans.

This threw Pompey into the arms of Craſſus and Caeſar, or rather he conſpired with them againſt the commonwealth; and having filled the city with ſoldiers, drove Cato and Lucullus out of the forum, and got his acts eſtabliſhed by force.

As theſe proceedings were highly reſented by all who had the intereſt of their country at heart, Pompey's party inſtructed one † Vectius to act a part; and gave

* Plutarch ſays ſimply νεμησιν τινα, a certain diſtribution. Amiot and Dacier ſay, it was of money. But we agree with the Latin and former Engliſh tranſlator, that it was of lands. Indeed, this appears to have been the caſe, from the antient hiſtorians; who inform us, that it was in the ſame bill that Pompey moved to have all his acts in the Eaſt confirmed, and a diſtribution of lands made among his veterans.

† In the text it is Βρεττιον τινα, one Brettius, or a certain Brutian. But it is clear from Cicero, Appian and Dion, that it ſhould be read Vectius. The alteration is very eaſy from Βεκτιον to Βρεττιον.

gave it out that they had detected him in a deſign againſt Pompey's life. When Vettius was examined in the ſenate, he ſaid, it was at the inſtigation of others; but in the aſſembly of the people he affirmed, Lucullus was the man who put him upon it. No one gave credit to the aſſertion; and a few days after, it was very evident that the wretch was ſuborned to accuſe an innocent man, when his dead body was thrown out of the priſon. Pompey's party ſaid, he had laid violent hands upon himſelf; but the marks of the cord that had ſtrangled him, and of the blows he had received, ſhewed plainly that he was killed by the perſons who ſuborned him.

This event made Lucullus ſtill more unwilling to interfere in the concerns of government; and when Cicero was baniſhed, and Cato ſent to Cyprus, he quitted them entirely. It is ſaid, that his underſtanding gradually failed, and that before his death it was abſolutely gone. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, aſſerts, that this failure of his intellects was not owing to ſickneſs or old age, but to a potion given him by an enfranchiſed ſlave of his, named Calliſthenes. Nor did Calliſthenes give it him as poiſon, but as a love-potion. However, inſtead of conciliating his maſter's regards to him, it deprived him of his ſenſes; ſo that, during the laſt years of his life, his brother had the care of his eſtate.

Nevertheleſs, when he died, he was as much regretted by the people, as if he had departed in that height of glory to which his merit in war and in the adminiſtration had raiſed him. They crowded to the proceſſion; and the body being carried into the *forum* by ſome young men of the firſt quality, they inſiſted, it ſhould be buried in the *Campus Martius*, as that of Sylla had been. As this was a motion entirely unexpected, and the preparations for the funeral there could not eaſily be made, his brother with much intreaty prevailed with them, to have the

the obſequies performed on the Tuſculan eſtate, where every thing was provided for that purpoſe. Nor did he long ſurvive him. As he had followed him cloſe in the courſe of years and honours, ſo he was not far behind him in his journey to the grave; to which he bore the character of the beſt and moſt affectionate of brothers.

CIMON

CIMON *and* LUCULLUS *compared.*

WE cannot but think the exit of Lucullus happy, as he did not live to ſee that change in the conſtitution, which fate was preparing for his country in the civil wars. Though the commonwealth was in a ſickly ſtate, yet he left it free. In this reſpect the caſe of Cimon was particularly ſimilar. For he died while Greece was at the height of her proſperity, and before ſhe was involved in thoſe troubles which proved ſo fatal to her. It is true there is this difference; Cimon died in his camp, in the office of general; not like a man, who fatigued with war, and avoiding its conflicts, ſought the reward of his military labours and of the laurels he had won, in the delicacies of the table and the joys of wine. In this view * Plato was right in his cenſure of the followers of Orpheus, who had placed the rewards of futurity provided for the good, in everlaſting intoxication. No doubt, eaſe, tranquillity, literary reſearches, and the pleaſures of contemplation, furniſh the moſt ſuitable retreat

* The paſſage here alluded to is in the ſecond book of Plato's Republic. Plato cenſures not Orpheus, but Muſaeus and his ſon, for teaching this doctrine. Muſaeus and his ſon Eumolpus were, however, diſciples of Orpheus; and τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα may admit of that interpretation.

treat for a man in years, who has bid adieu to military and political purſuits. But to propoſe pleaſure as the end of great atchievements, and, after long expeditions and commands, to lead up the dance of Venus and riot in her ſmiles, was ſo far from being worthy of the famed academy, and a follower of the ſage Xenocrates, that it rather became a diſciple of Epicurus. This is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe Cimon ſeems to have ſpent his youth in luxury and diſſipation, and Lucullus in letters and ſobriety. It is certainly another thing notwithſtanding to change for the better, and happier is the nature in which vices gradually die, and virtue flouriſhes.

They were equally wealthy, but did not apply their riches to the ſame purpoſes. For we cannot compare the palace at Naples and the Belvideres amidſt the water which Lucullus erected with the barbarian ſpoils, to the ſouth wall of the citadel which Cimon built with the treaſure he brought from the wars. Nor can the ſumptuous table of Lucullus, which ſavoured too much of eaſtern magnificence, be put in competition with the open and benevolent table of Cimon. The one, at a moderate charge, daily nouriſhed great numbers of poor; the other, at a vaſt expence, pleaſed the appetites of a few of the rich and the voluptuous. Perhaps, indeed, ſome allowance muſt be made for the difference of the time. We know not, whether Cimon, if he had lived to be old, and retired from the concerns of war and of the ſtate, might not have given into a more pompous and luxurious way of living: for he naturally loved wine and company, was a promoter of public feaſts and games, and remarkable, as we have obſerved, for his inclination for the ſex. But glorious enterpriſes and great actions, being attended with pleaſures of another kind, leave no leiſure for inferior gratifications; nay, they baniſh them from the thoughts of perſons of great abilities for the field and the cabinet. And if Lucullus had

finiſhed

finished his days in high commands and amidst the conflicts of war, I am persuaded, the most envious caviller could have found nothing to reproach him with. So much with respect to their way of living.

As to their military character, it is certain they were able commanders both at sea and land. But as the champions, who in one day gain the garland not only in wrestling but in the* *Pancration*, are not simply called victors, but by the custom of the games,† *the flowers of the victory*; so Cimon, having crowned Greece with two victories gained in one day, the one at land, the other a naval one, deserves some preference in the list of generals.

Lucullus was indebted to his country for his power, and Cimon promoted the power of his country. The one found Rome commanding the allies, and under her auspices extended her conquests; the other found Athens obeying, instead of commanding, and yet gained her the chief authority among her allies, as well as conquered her enemies. The Persians he defeated, and drove them out of the sea, and he persuaded the Lacedæmonians voluntarily to surrender the command.

If it be the greatest work of a general, to bring his men to obey him from a principle of affection, we shall

* The Pancration consisted of boxing and wrestling together.

† Ὥσπερ δὲ των αθλητων τους ἡμερα μια παλη μιᾳ και παγκρατιω στεφανουμενους, εθει τινι παραδοξω νικας καλουσι———

Here the second μια is visibly redundant, and therefore some other part of the passage may probably be corrupted. Henry Stephens conjectures, that instead of παραδοξω νικας we should read in one word παραδοξονικας, and Salvini says he found the term in an ancient inscription. Dacier, when he proposes to read περιοδονικας, *conquerors in the whole circle of games*, seems, by confounding it with the Pentathlon, to have forgot what the Pancration was. The Pentathlon or five games were boxing, the race, leaping, playing at quoits, and wrestling. Dacier's words are these— "Cinq combats composoient ce qu'on appelloit le Pancrace, dont les Athletes etoient appelleés Pentathles." But in fact, as we have observed above, the Pancration consisted only of two of the five united.

ſhall find Lucullus greatly deficient in this reſpect. He was deſpiſed by his own troops, whereas Cimon commanded the veneration, not only of his own ſoldiers, but of all the allies. The former was deſerted by his own, and the latter was courted by ſtrangers. The one ſet out with a fine army, and returned alone, abandoned by that army; the other went out with troops ſubject to the orders they ſhould receive from another general, and at his return they were at the head of the whole league. Thus he gained three of the moſt difficult points imaginable, peace with the enemy, the lead among the allies, and a good unſterſtanding with Sparta.

They both attempted to conquer great kingdoms, and to ſubdue all Aſia, but their purpoſes were unſucceſsful. Cimon's courſe was ſtopt by fortune; he died with his commiſſion in his hand, and in the height of his proſperity. Lucullus, on the other hand, cannot poſſibly be excuſed, as to the loſs of his authority, ſince he muſt either have been ignorant of the grievances of his army, which ended in ſo incurable an averſion, or unwilling to redreſs them.

This he has in common with Cimon, that he was impeached by his countrymen. The Athenians, it is true went farther; they baniſhed Cimon by the oſtraciſm, that they might not, as Plato expreſſes it, hear his voice for ten years. Indeed, the proceedings of the ariſtocratical party are ſeldom acceptable to the people; for while they are obliged to uſe ſome violence for the correction of what is amiſs, their meaſures reſemble the bandages of ſurgeons, which are uneaſy at the ſame time that they reduce the diſlocation. But in this reſpect perhaps we may exculpate both the one and the other.

Lucullus carried his arms much the fartheſt. He was the firſt who led a Roman army over Mount Taurus, and paſſed the Tigris. He took and burnt the royal cities of Aſia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, Niſibis, in the ſight of their reſpective kings.

On the north he penetrated as far as Phaſis, on the eaſt to Media, and on the ſouth to the red ſea by the favour and aſſiſtance of the princes of Arabia. He overthrew the armies of the two great kings, and would certainly have taken them, had they not fled, like ſavages, into diſtant ſolitudes and inacceſſible woods. A certain proof of the advantage Lucullus has in this reſpect, is, that the Perſians, as if they had ſuffered nothing from Cimon, ſoon made head againſt the Greeks, and cut in pieces a great army of theirs in Egypt; whereas Tigranes and Mithridates could effect nothing, after the blow they had received from Lucullus. Mithridates, enfeebled by the conflicts he had undergone, did not once venture to face Pompey in the field: inſtead of that, he fled to the Boſphorus, and there put a period to his life. As for Tigranes, he delivered himſelf naked and unarmed to Pompey, took his diadem from his head, and laid it at his feet; in which he complimented Pompey, not with what was his own, but with what belonged to the laurels of Lucullus. The poor prince, by the joy with which he received the enſigns of royalty again, confeſſed that he had abſolutely loſt them. However, he muſt be deemed the greater general, as well as the greater champion, who delivers his adverſary weak and breathleſs, to the next combatant.

Beſides, Cimon found the king of Perſia extremely weakened, and the pride of his people humbled, by the loſſes and defeats they had experienced from Themiſtocles, Pauſanias and Leotychidas; and their hands could not make much reſiſtance, when their hearts were gone. But Lucullus met Tigranes freſh and unfoiled, elated and exulting in the battles he had fought and the victories he had won.* Nor

* Πλουθεῖ δ' οὐδ' ἀξίων παραβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ Λουκούλλου συνελθοῦσι τοὺς ὑπὸ κίμωνος κρατηθέντας.

M. Dacier thinks, that if, beſide the other advantages juſt mentioned, the advantage be alſo allowed Lucullus in reſpect of the number of barbarians he had defeated, the balance muſt clearly incline to his ſide. But

is the number of the enemy's troops which Cimon defeated, in the leaſt to be compared to that of thoſe who gave battle to Lucullus.

In ſhort, when we weigh all the advantages of each of theſe great men, it is hard to ſay to which ſide the balance inclines. Heaven appears to have favoured both; directing the one to what he ſhould do, and warning the other what he ſhould avoid. So that the Gods bore witneſs to their virtue, and regarded them as perſons in whom there was ſomething divine.

But while he ſays this, he ſeems to have forgot the preference his author had given Cimon, in reſpect to his continuing his labours for his country to the laſt hour of his life; the more excellent uſe and application of riches; his knowing how to gain and keep the hearts of his ſoldiers; and his gaining important victories on two different elements in one day.

NICIAS.

WE have pitched upon Craſſus, as a proper perſon to be put in parallel with Nicias, and the misfortunes which befel the one in Parthia, with thoſe which overtook the other in Sicily. But we have an apology to make to the reader on another account. As we are now undertaking a hiſtory, where Thucydides in the pathetic has even outdone himſelf, and in energy and variety of compoſition is perfectly inimitable; we hope no one will ſuſpect we have the ambition of Timaeus, who flattered himſelf he could exceed the power of Thucydides, and make * Philiſtus paſs for an inelegant and ordinary writer. Under the influence of that deception, Timaeus plunges into the midſt of the battles both at ſea and land, and ſpeeches in which thoſe hiſtorians ſhine the moſt. However, he ſoon appears,

Not like a footman by the Lydian car,

as Pindar expreſſes it, but a ſhallow † puerile writer, or, to uſe the the words of the poet Diphilus,

-------A heavy animal
Cas'd in Sicilian lard---------

* Philiſtus was ſo able a writer, that Cicero calls him younger Thucydides.

† Timaeus might have his vanity, and if he hoped to excel Thucydides, he certainly had. Yet Cicero and Diodorus ſpeak of

Sometimes he falls into the dreams of * Xenarchus; as where he ſays, "he could not but conſider it as a "bad omen for the Athenians, that they had † a ge- "neral with a name derived from victory, who diſap- "proved the expedition." As alſo, "That by the "mutilation of the Hermae, the gods preſignified "that they ſhould ſuffer moſt in the Syracuſan war "from Hermocrates the ſon of Hermon." ‡ And again, "It is probable that Hercules aſſiſted the Sy- "racuſans, becauſe Proſperine delivered up Cerberus "to him; and that he was offended at the Atheni- "ans for ſupporting the Aegeſteans, who were de- "ſcended from the Trojans his mortal enemies, "whoſe city he had ſacked in revenge for the inju- "ries he had received from Laomedon." He made theſe fine obſervations with the ſame diſcernment, which put him upon finding fault with the language of Philiſtus, and cenſuring the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle.

For my part, I cannot but think, all emulation and jealouſy about expreſſion betrays a littleneſs of mind, and is the characteriſtic of a ſophiſt: and when that ſpirit of conteſt attempts things inimitable, it is perfectedly abſurd. Since, therefore, it is impoſſible to paſs over in ſilence thoſe actions of Nicias which Thucydides and Philiſtus have recorded; eſpecially ſuch as indicate his manners and diſpoſition, which often lay concealed under the weight of his misfortunes; we ſhall give an abſtract from them of what ap-

of him as a very able hiſtorian. Longinus reconciles the cenſure and the praiſe. He ſays, ſometimes you find in him the grand and ſublime. But, blind to his own defects, he is much inclined to cenſure others, and is ſo fond of thinking out of the common road, that he often ſinks into the utmoſt puerility.

* Xenarchus, the peripatetic, was maſter to Strabo; and Xenarchus, the comic poet, was author of ſeveral pieces of humour: but we know no hiſtorian of that name.

† That is, Nicias. *Nice* ſignifies *victory*.

‡ Longinus quotes this paſſage as an example of the frigid ſtile, and of thoſe puerilities he had condemned in Timaeus.

appears moſt neceſſary, leſt we ſhould be accuſed of negligence or indolence. As for other matters not generally known, which are found ſcattered in hiſtorians, or in ancient inſcriptions and decrees, we ſhall collect them with care; not to gratify an uſeleſs curioſity, but by drawing from them the true lines of this general's character, to ſerve the purpoſes of real inſtruction.

The firſt thing I ſhall mention relating to him, is the obſervation of Ariſtotle; that three of the moſt worthy men in Athens, who had a paternal regard and friendſhip for the people, were Nicias the ſon of Niceratus, Thucydides the ſon of Mileſias, and Theramenes the ſon of Agnon. The laſt, indeed, was not ſo remarkable in this reſpect, as the other two. For he had been reproached with his birth, as a ſtranger come from the Iſle of Ceos; and from his want of firmneſs, or rather verſatility in matters of government, he was called *the Buſkin.**

Thucydides was the oldeſt of the three; and when Pericles acted a flattering part to the people, he often oppoſed him in behalf of the nobility. Though Nicias was much the younger man, he gained ſome reputation while Pericles lived, inſomuch that he was ſeveral times his collegue in the war, and often commanded alone. But when Pericles died, he was ſoon advanced to the head of the adminiſtration, particularly by the influence of the rich and great, who hoped he would prove a barrier againſt the daring inſolence of Cleon. He had, however, the good wiſhes of the people, and they contributed their ſhare to his advancement.

It is true, Cleon had conſiderable intereſt, which he gained by making his court to the old men, and by his frequent donations to the poor citizens. Yet even many of thoſe whom he ſtudied to oblige, ſee-

* The form of the buſkin was ſuch that it might be worn indifferently on either leg.

ing his avarice and effrontery, came over to Nicias. For the gravity of Nicias had nothing auſtere or moroſe in it, but was mixed with a reverence for the people in which fear ſeemed to be prevalent, and conſequently was very agreeable to them. Indeed, he was naturally timid and cold-hearted; but this defect was concealed by the long courſe of ſucceſs with which fortune favoured his expeditions. And his timidity in the aſſemblies of the people, and dread of perſons who made a trade of impeachments, was a popular thing. It contributed not a little to gain him the regards of the multitude, who are afraid of thoſe that deſpiſe them, and love to promote thoſe that fear them; becauſe in general the greateſt honour they can hope to obtain, is not to be deſpiſed by the great.

As Pericles kept the reins of government in his hands, by means of real virtue and by the force of his eloquence, he had no need to hold out falſe colours, or to uſe any artifice with the people. Nicias was deficient in thoſe great endowments, but had ſuperior riches; and he applied them to the purpoſes of popularity. On another hand, he could not, like Cleon, divert and draw the people by an eaſy manner and the ſallies of buffoonery; and therefore he amuſed them with the choruſes of tragedy, with gymnaſtic exerciſes, and ſuch like exhibitions, which far exceeded, in point of magnificence and elegance, all that went before him, and thoſe of his own times too. Two of his offerings to the gods are to be ſeen at this day; the one a ſtatue of Pallas dedicated in the citadel, which has loſt part of its gilding; the other a ſmall chapel in the temple of Bacchus, under the tripods which are commonly offered up by thoſe who gain the prize in tragedy. Indeed, Nicias was already victorious in thoſe exhibitions. It is ſaid, that in a chorus of that kind, one of his ſlaves appeared in the character of Bacchus. The ſlave was of an uncommon ſize and beauty, but had not yet arrived at

at maturity: and the people were ſo charmed with him, that they gave him long plaudits. At laſt, Nicias roſe up and ſaid, "He ſhould think it an act "of impiety to retain a perſon in ſervitude, who "ſeemed by the public voice to be conſecrated to a "god;" and he enfranchiſed him upon the ſpot.

His regulations with reſpect to Delos, are ſtill ſpoken of, as worthy of the deity who preſides there. Before his time, the choirs which * the cities ſent to ſing the praiſes of Apollo, landed in a diſorderly manner, becauſe the inhabitants of the iſland uſed to run up to the ſhip, and preſs them to ſing before they were diſembarked; ſo that they were forced to ſtrike up, as they were putting on their robes and garlands. But when Nicias had the conduct of this ceremony, known by the name of Theoria, he landed firſt in the iſle of Rhenia with the choir, the victims, and all the other neceſſary preparations. He had taken care to have a bridge conſtructed before he left Athens, which ſhould reach from that iſle to Delos, and which was magnificently gilded, and adorned with garlands, rich ſtuffs and tapeſtry. In the night he threw his bridge over the channel, which was not large; and at break of day he marched over it at the head of the proceſſion, with his choir richly habited and ſinging hymns to the God. After the ſacrifices, the games and banquets were over, he conſecrated a palm-tree of braſs to Apollo, and likewiſe a field which he had purchaſed for ten thouſand drachmas. The Delians were to lay out the income in ſacrifices and feaſting, and at the ſame time to pray for Apollo's bleſſing upon the founder. This is inſcribed on a pillar, which he left in Delos as a monument of his benefaction. As for the palm-tree, it was broken by the winds, and the fragment falling

* There was a ſelect band of muſic annually ſent by the principal cities of Greece. The proceſſion was called Theoria, and it was looked upon as an honourable commiſſion to have the management of it.

upon a great ſtatue * which the people of Naxos had ſet up, demoliſhed it.

It is obvious that moſt of theſe things were done for oſtentation, and with a view to popularity. Nevertheleſs, we may collect from the reſt of his life and conduct, that religion had the principal ſhare in theſe dedications, and that popularity was but a ſecondary motive. For he certainly was remarkable for his fear of the Gods, and, as Thucydides obſerves, he was pious to a degree of ſuperſtition. † It is related in the dialogues of Paſiphon, that he ſacrificed every day, and that he had a diviner in his houſe, who in appearance enquired the ſucceſs of the public affairs, but in reality was much oftner conſulted about his own; particularly as to the ſucceſs of his ſilver mines in the borough of Laurium; which in general afforded a large revenue, but were not worked without danger. He maintained there a multitude of ſlaves; and the greateſt part of his fortune conſiſted in ſilver. So that he had many retainers, who aſked favours, and were not ſent away empty. For he gave not only to thoſe who deſerved his bounty, but to ſuch as might be able to do him harm; and bad men found reſources in his fears, as well as good men in his liberality. The comic poets bear witneſs to what I have advanced. Teleclides introduces a trading informer ſpeaking thus, "Chari-" cles would not give one *mina*, to prevent my de-" claring that he was the firſt-fruits of his mother's " amours; but Nicias, the ſon of Niceratus, gave " me four. Why he did it, I ſhall not ſay, though " I know it perfectly well. For Nicias is my friend, " a very wiſe man beſides, in my opinion." Eupolis, in his *Marica*, brings another informer upon the ſtage,

* A ſtatue which the Naxians had dedicated to Apollo. The pedeſtal has been diſcovered by ſome modern travellers.

† Thucyd. L. vii.

ſtage, who meets with ſome poor ignorant man, and thus addreſſes him----

Informer. "How long is it ſince you ſaw Nicias?

Poor man. "I never ſaw him before this mo-
"ment, when he ſtood in the market-place."

Informer. "Take notice, my friends, the man
"confeſſes he has ſeen Nicias. And for what
"purpoſe could he ſee him, but to ſell him his
"vote? Nicias, therefore, is plainly taken in
"the fact."

Poet. "Ah fools! do you think you can ever
"perſuade the world, that ſo good a man as
"Nicias was taken in mal-practices."

Cleon in Ariſtophanes, ſays in a menacing tone, "I will outbawl the orators, and make Nicias* "tremble." And Phrynichus glances at his exceſſive timidity, when, ſpeaking of another perſon he ſays, "I know him to be an honeſt man and a good citizen, "one who does not walk the ſtreets with a down-"caſt look like Nicias."

With this fear of informers upon him, he would not ſup or diſcourſe with any of the citizens, or come into any of thoſe parties which make the time paſs ſo agreeably. When he was archon, he uſed to ſtay in court till night, being always the firſt that came, and the laſt that went away. When he had no public buſineſs upon his hands, he ſhut himſelf up at home, and was extremely difficult of acceſs. And if any perſons came to the gate, his friends went and begged them to excuſe Nicias, becauſe he had ſome affairs under conſideration which were of great importance to the ſtate.

The perſon who aſſiſted him moſt in acting this farce, and gaining him the reputation of a man for ever intent upon buſineſs, was one Hiero; who was brought up in his houſe, had a liberal education, and

* This is in the Equites of Ariſtophanes, v. 357. It is not Cleon, but Agoracritus who ſpeaks.

and a taſte of muſic given him there. He paſſed himſelf for the ſon of Dionyſius ſurnamed Chalcus, ſome of whoſe poems are ſtill extant, and who having conducted a colony into Italy, founded the city of Thurii. This Hiero tranſacted all the private buſineſs of Nicias with the diviners: and whenever he came among the people, he uſed to tell them, "What a laborious and miſerable life Nicias led for "their ſakes. He cannot go to the bath," ſaid he, "or to the table, but ſome affair of ſtate ſollicits his "attention; and he neglects his own concerns, to "take care of the public. He can ſcarce find time "for repoſe, till the other citizens have had their "firſt ſleep. Amidſt theſe cares and labours his health "declines daily, and his temper is ſo broken that "his friends no longer approach him with pleaſure; "but he loſes them too, after having ſpent his for-"tune in your ſervice. Mean while other ſtateſmen "gain friends, and grow rich in their employments, "and are ſleek and merry in the ſteerage of govern-"ment."

In fact the life of Nicias was a life of ſo much care, that he might have juſtly applied to himſelf that expreſſion of Agamemnon,

In vain the glare of pomp proclaims me maſter;
I'm ſervant of the people-----

Nicias perceived that the commons availed themſelves of the ſervices of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed for their eloquence or capacity; but that they were always jealous and on their guard againſt their great abilities, and that they endeavoured to humble them and obſtruct their progreſs in glory. This appeared in the condemnation of Pericles, the baniſhment of Damon, the ſuſpicions they entertained of Antipho the Rhamnuſian, but above all, in the deſpair of Paches who had taken Leſbos, and who being called to give an account of his conduct, drew his ſword and killed himſelf in open court.

Warned

Warned by theſe examples, he endeavoured to avoid ſuch expeditions as he thought long and difficult; and when he did take the command, he made it his buſineſs to proceed upon a ſure plan. For this reaſon he was generally ſucceſsful: yet he aſcribed his ſucceſs to fortune, and took refuge under the wings of the divinity; contenting himſelf with a ſmaller portion of honour, leſt envy ſhould rob him of the whole.

The event ſhewed the prudence of his conduct. For, though the Athenians received many great blows in thoſe times, none of them could be imputed to Nicias. When they were defeated by the Chalcideans in Thrace, *Calliades and Xenophon had the command; Demoſthenes was general, when they miſcarried in Etolia; and when they loſt a thouſand men at †Delium, they were under the conduct of Hippocrates. As for the plague, it was commonly thought to be occaſioned by Pericles; who, to draw the burghers out of the way of the war, ſhut them up in the city, where they contracted the ſickneſs by the change of ſituation and diet.

None of theſe misfortunes were imputed to Nicias. On the contrary, he took Cythera, an iſland well ſituated for annoying Laconia, and at that time inhabited by Lacedaemonians. He recovered many places in Thrace, which had revolted from the Athenians. He ſhut up the Megarenſians within their walls, and reduced the iſland of Minoa. From thence he made an excurſion ſoon after, and got poſſeſſion of the port of Niſaea. He likewiſe made a deſcent upon the territories of Corinth, beat the troops of that ſtate in a pitched battle, and killed great

* Perhaps, we ſhould read Callias. See Menag. on Diog. Laert. ii. 45.

† Delium in Boeotia. Delos, the common reading, is undoubtedly wrong. The Athenians had no ſuch loſs there. But their defeat at Delium is related at large by Thucydides. L. iv.

great numbers of them: Lycophron their general was among the ſlain.

He happened to leave there the bodies of two of his men, who were miſſed in carrying off the dead. But as ſoon as he knew it, he ſtopped his courſe, and ſent a herald to the enemy, to aſk leave to take away thoſe bodies. This he did, though there was a law and cuſtom ſubſiſting, by which thoſe who deſire a treaty for carrying off the dead, give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy. And indeed, thoſe who are ſo far maſters of the field, that the enemy cannot bury their dead without permiſſion, appear to be conquerors, becauſe no man would aſk that as a favour which he could command. Nicias, however, choſe rather to loſe his laurels, than to leave two of his countrymen unburied.*

After he had ravaged the coaſt of Laconia, and defeated the Lacedaemonians who attempted to oppoſe him, he took the fortreſs of † Thyraea, then held by the Aeginetae, made the garriſon priſoners, and carried them to Athens. Demoſthenes ‡ having fortified Pylos, the Peloponneſians beſieged it both by ſea and land. A battle enſued, in which they were worſted, and about four hundred Spartans threw themſelves into the iſle of Sphaeteria. The taking of

* The burying of the dead was a duty of great importance in the heathen world. The fable of the ghoſt of an unburied perſon not being allowed to paſs the Styx, is well known. About eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put ſix of their generals to death, for not interring thoſe ſoldiers that were ſlain in the battle of Arginuſae.

† Thyraea was a fort ſituated between Laconia and the territory of the Argives. It belonged of right to the Lacedaemonians, but they gave it to the Aeginetae, who had been expelled their country.

‡ The Peloponneſians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis the ſon of Archidamas, and ravaged the country. Demoſthenes, the Athenian general, made a diverſion by ſeizing and fortyfying Pylos. This brought Agis back to the defence of his own country. THUCYD. L. iv.

of them ſeemed, and indeed was, an important object to the Athenians. But the ſiege was difficult, becauſe there was no water to be had upon the ſpot, and it was troubleſome and expenſive to get convoys thither; in ſummer they were obliged to take a long circuit, and in winter it was abſolutely impracticable. They were much perplexed about the affair, and repented their refuſing the terms of peace which the Lacedaemonians had offered by their ambaſſadors.

It was through Cleon that the embaſſy did not take effect; he oppoſed the peace becauſe Nicias was for it. Cleon was his mortal enemy, and ſeeing him countenance the Lacedaemonians, perſuaded the people to reject their propoſitions by a formal decree. But when they found that the ſiege was drawn out to a great length, and that there was almoſt a famine in their camp, they expreſſed their reſentment againſt Cleon. Cleon, for his part, laid the blame upon Nicias; alledging that if the enemy eſcaped, it muſt be through his ſlow and timid operations: "Had I been the general," ſaid he, "they "could not have held out ſo long." The Athenians readily anſwered, "Why do not you go now "againſt thoſe Spartans?" And Nicias roſe up and declared, "he would freely give up to him the com"mand in the affair of Pylos; bade him take what "forces he pleaſed; and, inſtead of ſhewing his cou"rage in words, where there was no danger, go and "perform ſome actions worthy the attention of his "country."

Cleon, diſconcerted with the unexpected offer, declined it at firſt. But when he found the Athenians inſiſted upon it, and that Nicias took his advantage to raiſe a clamour againſt him, his pride was hurt, and he was incenſed to ſuch a degree, that he not only undertook the expedition, but de"clared, he would in twenty days either put the "enemy to the ſword, or bring them alive to A"thens."

* The

* The people laughed at his declaration, inſtead of giving it any credit. Indeed, they had long been accuſtomed to divert themſelves with the ſallies of his vanity. One day, for inſtance, when a general aſſembly was to be held, they had ſat waiting for him a long time. At laſt he came, when their patience was almoſt ſpent, with a garland on his head, and deſired them to adjourn 'till the day following: "For, to day," ſays he, "I am not at leiſure; I "have ſtrangers to entertain, and I have ſacrificed "to the Gods." The Athenians only laughed, and immediately roſe up and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

Cleon, however, was ſo much favoured by fortune in this commiſſion, that he acquitted himſelf better than any one ſince Demoſthenes. He returned within the time he had fixed, after he had made all the Spartans who did not fall in battle, deliver up their arms; and brought them priſoners to Athens.

This reflected no ſmall diſgrace upon Nicias. It was conſidered as ſomething worſe than throwing away his ſhield, meanly to quit his command, and to give his enemy an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his abdication. Hence, Ariſtophanes ridicules him in his comedy called *the Birds*. "By "heaven, this is no time for us to ſlumber, or to "imitate the lazy operations of Nicias." And in his piece entitled *the huſbandman*, he introduces two Athenians diſcourſing thus---

1ſt. Athenian. *I had rather ſtay at home and till the ground.*

2d. Athenian. *And who hinders thee?*

1ſt. Athenian. *You hinder me. And yet I am willing to pay a thouſand drachmas to be excuſed taking the commiſſion.*

2d.

* The wiſer ſort hoped either to have the pleaſure of ſeeing the Lacedæmonians brought priſoners to Athens, or elſe of getting rid of the importunate pretenſions of Cleon.

2d. Athenian. *Let us ſee. Your thouſand drachmas, with thoſe of Nicias, will make two thouſand. We will excuſe you.*

Nicias, in this affair, was not only unjuſt to himſelf, but to the ſtate. He ſuffered Cleon by this means to gain ſuch an aſcendant, as led him to a degree of pride and effrontery that was inſupportable. Many evils were thus brought upon the commonwealth, of which Nicias himſelf had his full ſhare. We cannot but conſider it as one great corruption, that Cleon now baniſhed all decorum from the general aſſembly. It was he who in his ſpeeches firſt broke out into violent exclamations, threw back his robes, ſmote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the *roſtrum* to the other. This ſoon introduced ſuch a licentiouſneſs and diſregard to decency among thoſe who directed the affairs of ſtate, that it threw the whole government into confuſion.

At this time there ſprung up another orator at Athens. This was Alcibiades. He did not prove ſo totally corrupt as Cleon. As it is ſaid of the land of Egypt, that, on account of its extreme fertility,

There plenty ſows the fields with herbs ſalubrious,
But ſcatters many a baneful weed between;

ſo in Alcibiades there were very different qualities, but all in extremes; and theſe extremes opened a door to many innovations. So that when Nicias got clear of Cleon, he had no time to eſtabliſh any laſting tranquillity in Athens: but as ſoon as he had got things into a ſafe track, the ambition of Alcibiades came upon him like a torrent, and bore him back into the ſtorms of war.

It happened thus. The perſons who moſt oppoſed the peace of Greece, were Cleon and Braſidas. War helped to hide the vices of the former, and to ſhew the good qualities of the latter. Cleon found opportunity for acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion, and Braſidas for great and glorious actions. But after they both fell in the battle near Amphipolis, Nicias ap-

applied to the Lacedaemonians on one hand, who had been for ſome time deſirous of peace, and to the Athenians on the other, now no longer ſo warm in the purſuits of war. In fact, both parties were tired of hoſtilities, and ready to let their weapons drop out of their hands. Nicias, therefore, uſed his endeavours to reconcile them, and indeed to deliver all the Greeks from the calamities they had ſuffered, to bring them to taſte the ſweets of repoſe, and to reeſtabliſh a long and laſting reign of happineſs. He immediately found the rich, the aged, and all that were employed in the culture of the ground, diſpoſed to peace; and by addreſſing himſelf to the reſt, and expoſtulating with them reſpectively, he ſoon abated their ardour for war.

His next ſtep was to give the Spartans hopes of an accommodation, and to exhort them to propoſe ſuch meaſures as might effect it. They readily confided in him, becauſe they knew the goodneſs of his heart; of which there was a late inſtance in his humane treatment of their countrymen who were taken priſoners at Pylos, and who found their chains greatly lightened by his good offices.

They had already agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms for one year; during which time they often met, and enjoyed again the pleaſures of eaſe and ſecurity; the company of ſtrangers as well as nearer friends; and expreſſed their mutual wiſhes for the continuance of a life undiſturbed with the horrors of war. It was with great delight they heard the chorus in ſuch ſtrains as this;

Arachne freely now has leave
Her webs around my ſpear to weave.

They recollected with pleaſure the ſaying, "that "in time of peace men are awaked not by the ſound "of the trumpet, but the crowing of the cock." They execrated thoſe who ſaid, it was decreed by fate

fate that the war ſhould laſt * three times nine years; and this free intercourſe leading them to canvas every point, they at laſt ſigned the peace. †

It was now the general opinion, that they were at the end of all their troubles. Nothing was talked of but Nicias. He, they ſaid, was a man beloved of the gods, who, in recompence of his piety, had thought proper, that the greateſt and moſt deſirable of all bleſſings ſhould bear his name. It is certain, they aſcribed the peace to Nicias, as they did the war to Pericles. And indeed, the one did plunge them upon ſlight pretences into numberleſs calamities, and the other perſuaded them to bury the greateſt of injuries in oblivion, and to unite again as friends. It is therefore, called the ‡ *Nicean* peace to this very day.

It was agreed in the articles, that both parties ſhould reſtore the towns and the priſoners they had taken; and it was to be determined by lot, which of them ſhould do it firſt: but, according to Theophraſtus, Nicias ſecured the lot by dint of money, ſo that the Lacedaemonians were forced to lead the way. As the Corinthians and Boeotians were diſpleaſed at theſe proceedings, and endeavoured, by ſowing jealouſies between the contracting powers, to renew the war, Nicias perſuaded the Athenians and Lacedaemonians to confirm the peace, and to ſupport each other, by a league offenſive and defenſive. This, he expected would intimidate thoſe who were inclined to fly off.

* "I remember," ſays Thucydides, "that throughout the "whole war many maintained it was to laſt three times nine years. "And if we reckon the firſt ten years of the war, the truce very "ſhort and ill obſerved that followed it, the treaties ill executed, "and the war that was renewed thereupon, we ſhall find the "oracle fully juſtified by the event." Thucyd. L. v.

† Peace for fifty years was agreed upon and ſigned the year following; but it was ſoon broken again.

‡ The word in the original is Νικιειον, which is equivalent to Τροπαιον, *Trophy*. As much as to ſay, it was the trophy, or the maſter-piece of Nicias.

During theſe tranſactions, Alcibiades at firſt made it his buſineſs privately to oppoſe the peace. For he was naturally diſinclined to inaction, and was moreover offended at the Lacedaemonians, on account of their attatchment to Nicias, and their neglect and diſregard of him. But when he found this private oppoſition ineffectual, he took another method. In a little time he ſaw the Athenians did not look upon the Lacedaemonians with ſo obliging an eye as before, becauſe they thought themſelves injured by the alliance which their new friends had entered into with the Boeotians, and becauſe they had not delivered up Panactus and Amphipolis in the condition they found them. He therefore dwelt upon theſe points, and endeavoured to inflame the people's reſentment. Beſides, he perſuaded, and at laſt prevailed upon the republic of Argos to ſend an embaſſy, for the purpoſe of negotiating a treaty with the Athenians.

When the Lacedaemonians had intelligence of this, they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens with full powers to ſettle all matters in diſpute. Theſe plenipotentiaries were introduced to the ſenate, and their propoſals ſeemed perfectly juſt and reaſonable. Alcibiades, upon this, fearing they would gain the people by the ſame overtures, circumvented them by perfidious oaths and aſſeverations; "promiſing he would ſecure "the ſucceſs of their commiſſion, if they would not "declare that they came with full powers; and "aſſuring them, that no other method would be ſo "effectual." They gave credit to his inſinuations, and went over from Nicias to him.

Upon introducing them to the people, the firſt queſtion he aſked them was, "Whether they came "with full powers?" They denied it, as they were inſtructed. Then Alcibiades, beyond all their expectation, changing ſides, called the ſenate to bear witneſs to their former declarations, and deſired the people "not to give the leaſt credit or attention to "ſuch

"ſuch manifeſt prevaricators, who upon the ſame "point aſſerted one thing one day, and another "thing the next." Their confuſion was inexpreſſible, as may well be imagined, and Nicias was ſtruck dumb with grief and aſtoniſhment. The people of courſe ſent immediately for the deputies of Argos, to conclude the treaty with them. But at that very moment there happened a ſlight ſhock of an earthquake, which favourably for Nicias broke up the aſſembly.

Next day they aſſembled again; and Nicias, by exerting all his powers, with much difficulty prevailed upon them not to put the laſt hand to the league with Argos; but, inſtead of that, to ſend him* to Sparta, where he aſſured them all would be well. When he arrived there, he was treated with great reſpect, as a man of honour, and one who had ſhewn that republic great friendſhip: however, as the party that favoured the † Boeotians was the ſtrongeſt, he could effect nothing. He returned, therefore, not only with diſrepute and diſgrace, but was apprehenſive of worſe conſequences from the Athenians, who were greatly chagrined and provoked, that, at his perſuaſion, they had ſet free ſo many priſoners, and priſoners of ſuch diſtinction. For thoſe brought from Pylos, were of the firſt families in Sparta, and had connections with the greateſt perſonages there. Notwithſtanding this, they did not expreſs their reſentment in any act of ſeverity; they only elected Alcibiades general, and took the Mantineans and Eleans, who had quitted the Lacedaemonian intereſt, into league with them, along with the Argives. They then ſent a marauding party to Pylos, from thence to make excurſions into Laconia. Thus the war broke out afreſh.

* There were others joined in commiſſion with him.

† Nicias inſiſted that the Spartans ſhould renounce their alliance with the Boeotians, becauſe they had not acceded to the peace.

As the quarrel between Nicias and Alcibiades roſe daily to a greater height, the oſtraciſm was propoſed. To this the people have recourſe at certain periods, and by it they expel for ten years any one who is ſuſpected for his authority, or envied for his wealth. Both parties were greatly alarmed at the danger, not doubting that it would fall to the lot of one of them. The Athenians deteſted the life and manners of Alcibiades, and at the ſame time they dreaded his enterpriſing ſpirit; as we have related more at large in his life. As for Nicias, his riches expoſed him to envy, and the rather, becauſe there was nothing ſocial or popular in his manner of living; on the contrary, his recluſe turn ſeemed owing to an inclination for oligarchy, and perfectly in a foreign taſte. Beſides, he had combated their opinions, and by making them purſue their own intereſt againſt their inclination, was of courſe become obnoxious In one word, the whole was a diſpute between the young who wanted war, and the old who were lovers of peace. The former endeavoured to make the oſtraciſm fall upon Nicias, and the latter on Alcibiades.

But in ſeditions bad men riſe to honour.

The Athenians being divided into two factions, the ſubtleſt and moſt profligate of wretches gained ground. Such was Hyperbolus of the ward of Perithois; a man whoſe boldneſs was not owing to any well-grounded influence, but whoſe influence was owing to his boldneſs; and who diſgraced the city by the credit he had acquired.

This wretch had no apprehenſions of baniſhment by the honourable ſuffrage of the oſtraciſm, becauſe he knew himſelf fitter for a gibbet. Hoping, however, that if one of theſe great men were baniſhed, he ſhould be able to make head againſt the other, he diſſembled not his joy at this ſpirit of party, but ſtrove to exaſperate the people againſt both. Nicias and Alcibiades taking notice of his malice, came to a private

private interview, in which they agreed to unite their intereſts; and by that means avoided the oſtraciſm themſelves, and turned it upon Hyperbolus.

At firſt the people were pleaſed, and laughed at the ſtrange turn things had taken; but upon recollection, it gave them great uneaſineſs to think that the oſtraciſm was diſhonoured by its falling upon a perſon unworthy of it. They were perſuaded, there was a dignity in that puniſhment; or rather, that to ſuch men as Thucydides and Ariſtides it was a puniſhment; whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honour which he might be proud of, ſince his profligacy had put him on the ſame liſt with the greateſt patriots. Hence Plato, the comic poet, thus ſpeaks of him, "No doubt, his crimes deſerved chaſtiſement, "but a very different chaſtiſement from that which "he received. The ſhell was not deſigned for ſuch "wretches as he."

In fact, no one afterwards was baniſhed by it. He was the laſt, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the Tyrant, was the firſt. From this event it appears how intricate are the ways of fortune, how incomprehenſible to humane reaſon. Had Nicias run the riſque of the oſtraciſm, he would either have expelled Alcibiades, and lived afterwards in his native city in full ſecurity; or if it had been carried againſt him, and he had been forced to retire, he would have avoided the impending ſtroke of miſery, and preſerved the reputation of a wiſe and experienced general. I am not ignorant, that Theophraſtus ſays, Hyperbolus was baniſhed in the conteſt between Phaeax and Alcibiades, and not in that with Nicias. But moſt hiſtorians give it as above related.

About this time the Aegeſteans and Leontines ſent an embaſſy, to deſire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition. Nicias oppoſed it, but was overruled by the addreſs and ambition of Alcibiades. Indeed, Alcibiades had previouſly gained

the aſſembly by his diſcourſes, and corrupted the people to ſuch a degree with vain hopes; that the young men in their places of exerciſe, and the old men in the ſhops and other places where they converſed, drew plans of Sicily, and exhibited the nature of its ſeas, with all its ports and bearings on the ſide next Africa. For they did not conſider Sicily as the reward of their operations, but only as a place of arms; from whence they were to go upon the conqueſt of Carthage, nay of all Africa, and to make themſelves maſters of the ſeas within the pillars of Hercules.

While they were ſo intent upon this expedition, Nicias had not many on his ſide, either among the commons or nobility, to oppoſe it. For the rich, fearing it might be thought they were afraid to ſerve in perſon, or to be at the expence of fitting out men of war, ſat ſilent, contrary to their better judgment. Nicias, however, oppoſed it indefatigably, nor did he give up his point after the decree was paſſed for the war, and he was elected general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, and his name firſt in the ſuffrages. In the firſt aſſembly that was held after that, he roſe to diſſuade them, and to proteſt againſt their proceedings. In concluſion he attacked Alcibiades, for plunging the ſtate in a dangerous and foreign war, merely with a view to his own emolument and fame. But his arguments had no effect. They thought a man of his experience the fitter to conduct this enterprize; and that nothing could contribute more to its ſucceſs, than to unite his caution with the fiery ſpirit of Alcibiades, and * the bold-

In the original it is την Λαμαχου πραοτητα, *the mildneſs of Lamachus*. But it is plain, that ſome quality of Lamachus ſhould be here mentioned, which wanted to be qualified with the caution of Nicias: and mildneſs could not be that quality. A paſſage in the life of Alcibiades will help us to rectify the error in the text. Plutarch there ſpeaking of Lamachus, ſays, Λαμαχος ἡλικια προκυκων, ὁμως εδακει μηδεν ηττον ειναι του Αλκιβιαδου διαπυρος και φιλοκινδυνος εν ενιοις αγωσι.

* Though

boldneſs of Lamachus. Therefore, they were ſtill more confirmed in their choice. Beſides, Demoſtratus, who of all the orators took moſt pains to encourage the people to that war, roſe and ſaid, he would ſoon cut off all the excuſes of Nicias; and immediately he propoſed and carried an order, that the generals ſhould have a diſcretionary power to lay plans and put them in execution, both at home and abroad.

It is ſaid, indeed, that the prieſts ſtrongly oppoſed the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners to ſet againſt them; and he gave it out, that certain ancient oracles promiſed the Athenians great glory in Sicily. The envoys, too, who were ſent to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, returned with an anſwer importing that the Athenians would take all the Syracuſans.

If any of the citizens knew of bad preſages, they took care to conceal them, leſt they ſhould ſeem to pronounce any thing inauſpicious of an enterprize which their countrymen had too much at heart. Nor would any warnings have availed, when they were not moved at the moſt clear and obvious ſigns. Such was the mutilation of the * *Hermae*, whoſe heads were all ſtruck off in one night, except that which was called the Mercury of Andocides, and which had been conſecrated by the tribe of Egeis, before the door of the perſon juſt named. Such alſo was the pollution of the altar of the twelve gods. A man got aſtride upon it, and there emaſculated himſelf with a ſtone. In the temple of Delphi there was a golden ſtatue of Pallas, which the Athenians had

' Though Lamachus was the older man than Alcibiades, yet ' on ſome occaſions he had as much fire as he, and a courage bor- ' dering on temerity.' The word therefore, inſtead of θρασυτητα, ſhould probably be δρασυτητα,

* Theſe *Hermae*, or ſtatues of Mercury, were ſquare figures placed by the Athenians at the gates of their temples and the doors of their houſes.

erected upon a palm-tree of braſs, in commemoration of their victory over the Medes. The crows came and beaked it for ſeveral days, and pecked off the golden fruit of the tree.

The Athenians, however, ſaid, theſe were only fictions propagated at Delphi at the inſtigation of the Syracuſans. A certain oracle ordered them to fetch a prieſteſs of Minerva from Clazomenae; and when ſhe came, they found her name was *Heſychia*, by which the deity ſeemed to exhort them to continue in quiet. Meton the aſtrologer, whether he was ſtruck with theſe deſigns, or whether by the eye of human reaſon he diſcovered the impending danger (for he had a command in the army) feigned himſelf mad, and ſet fire to his houſe. Others ſay, he uſed no pretence of madneſs, but having burnt down his houſe in the night, addreſſed himſelf next morning to the aſſembly in a forlorn condition, and deſired the citizens, in compaſſion for his misfortune, to excuſe his ſon, who was to have gone out captain of a galley to Sicily.

The genius of Socrates,* on this occaſion, warned that wiſe man by the uſual tokens, that the expedition would prove fatal to Athens. He mentioned this to ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance, and the warning was commonly talked of. Many were likewiſe greatly diſcouraged on account of the time when the fleet happened to be ſent out. The women were then celebrating the feaſts of Adonis, during which there were to be ſeen in every quarter of the city images of the dead and funeral proceſſions; the women accompanying them with diſmal lamentations. So that thoſe who took any account of omens, were full of concern for the fate of their countrymen. They trembled to think that an armament fitted out at ſo vaſt an expence, and which made ſo glorious an appearance, would ſoon loſe its conſequence.

As

* In Theag.

As for Nicias, he ſhewed himſelf a wiſe and worthy man, in oppoſing the expedition while it was under conſideration; and in not ſuffering himſelf, after it was reſolved upon, to be dazzled by vain hopes or by the eminence of his poſt ſo as to depart from his opinion. Nevertheleſs, when he could neither divert the people from their purpoſe, nor by all his efforts get himſelf excuſed from taking the command, but was placed, as it were, by violence at the head of a great army; it was then no time for caution and timid delay. He ſhould not then have looked back from his ſhip like a child; nor, by a multitude of proteſtations that his better counſels were overruled, have diſheartened his collegues, and abated the ardour of his troops, which alone could give him a chance for ſucceſs. He ſhould have immediately attacked the enemy with the utmoſt vigour, and made fortune bluſh at the calamities ſhe was preparing.

But his conduct was very different. When * Lamachus propoſed to make a deſcent cloſe by Syracuſe, and to give battle under the walls; and Alcibiades was of opinion, they ſhould firſt reduce the cities that owned the authority of Syracuſe, and then march againſt the principal enemy; Nicias oppoſed both. He gave it for coaſting along Sicily without any act of hoſtility, and ſhewing what an armament they had. Then he was for returning to Athens, after having left a ſmall reinforcement with the Egeſteans, as a taſte of the Athenian ſtrength. Thus he intercepted all their ſchemes, and broke down their ſpirits.

The Athenians, ſoon after this, called Alcibiades home to take his trial; and Nicias remained joined indeed with another in commiſſion, but firſt in authority. There was now no end of his delays. He either made an idle parade of ſailing along the coaſt, or elſe ſat ſtill deliberating; 'till the ſpirit of confidence

* Vid. THUCYD. L. vi.

dence which buoyed up his own troops was evaporated and gone, as well as the conſternation with which the enemy were ſeized at the firſt ſight of his armament.

It is true, before the departure of Alcibiades, they had ſailed towards Syracuſe with ſixty gallies, fifty of which they drew up in line of battle before the harbour; the other ten they ſent in to reconnoitre the place. Theſe advanced to the foot of the walls, and by proclamation invited * the Leontines to return to their old habitations. At the ſame time they happened to take one of the enemy's veſſels, with the regiſters on board, in which all the Syracuſans were ſet down according to their tribes. They uſed to be kept at ſome diſtance from the city in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but were then ſent for to be examined, in order to the forming a liſt of perſons able to bear arms. When theſe regiſters were brought to the Athenian generals, and ſuch a prodigious number of names was diſplayed, the diviners were greatly concerned at the accident; thinking the prophecy, that the Athenians ſhould take all the Syracuſans, might poſſibly in this have its entire accompliſhment. It is aſſerted, however, that it had its accompliſhment on another occaſion, when Callippus the Athenian, after he had killed Dion, made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe.

When Alcibiades quitted Sicily with a ſmall retinue, the whole power devolved upon Nicias. Lamachus, indeed, was a man of great courage and honour, and he freely expoſed his perſon in time of action; but his circumſtances were ſo mean, that whenever he gave in his accounts of a campaign, he charged

* They ordered proclamation to be made by a herald, that the Athenians were come to reſtore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance between them. In conſequence of which ſuch of the Leontines as were in Syracuſe, had nothing to do but repair to the Athenians, who would take care to conduct them.

charged a ſmall ſum for clothes and ſandals. Nicias, on the contrary, beſide his other advantages, derived great authority from his eminence both as to wealth and name. We are told, that on another occaſion, when the Athenian generals met in a council of war, Nicias deſired Sophocles the poet to give his opinion firſt, becauſe he was the oldeſt man. "It is true," ſaid Sophocles, "I am older in "reſpect of years; but you are older in reſpect "of ſervice." In the ſame manner he now brought Lamachus to act under his orders, though he was the abler general; and his proceedings were for ever timid and dilatory. At firſt he made the circuit of the iſland with his ſhips at a great diſtance from the enemy; which ſerved only to raiſe their ſpirits. His firſt operation was to lay ſiege to the little town of Hybla; and not ſucceeding in that affair, he expoſed himſelf to the utmoſt contempt. Afterwards he retired to Catana, without any other exploit than that of ruining Hyccara, a ſmall place ſubject to the barbarians. Lais the courtezan, who was then a girl, is ſaid to have been ſold among the priſoners, and carried from thence to Peloponneſus.

Towards the end of the ſummer, he was informed, the Syracuſans were come to that degree of confidence, that they deſigned to attack him. Nay, ſome of their cavalry rode up to his trenches, and aſked his troops in great deriſion, "Whether they were "not rather come to ſettle in Catana themſelves, "than to ſettle the Leontines in their old habita-"tions?"

Nicias now, at laſt, with much difficulty determined to ſail for Syracuſe. In order to land his forces and encamp them without running any riſque, he ſent a perſon of Catana before him, who, under pretence of being a deſerter, ſhould tell the Syracuſans, that if they wanted to ſurpriſe the enemy's camp in a defenceleſs ſtate, and make themſelves maſters of their arms and baggage, they had nothing

to

to do but to march to Catana with all their forces on a day that he mentioned. For the Athenians, he ſaid, paſſed the greateſt part of their time within the walls; and ſuch of the inhabitants as were friends to the Syracuſans, had determined, upon their approach, to ſhut in the enemy, and to burn their fleet. At the ſame time he aſſured them, their partizans were very numerous, and waited with impatience for their arrival. *

This was the beſt act of generalſhip Nicias performed in Sicily. Having drawn by this means the enemy's forces out of Syracuſe, ſo that it was left almoſt without defence, he ſailed thither from Catana, made himſelf maſter of their ports, and encamped in a ſituation, where the enemy could leaſt annoy him by that in which their chief ſtrength conſiſted, and where he could eaſily exert the ſtrength in which he was ſuperior.

The Syracuſans, at their return from Catana, drew up before the walls, and Nicias immediately attacked and beat them. They did not, however, loſe any great number of men, becauſe their cavalry ſtopt the Athenians in the purſuit. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges that were upon the river, he gave Hermocrates opportunity to encourage the Syracuſans by obſerving, "That it was ridiculous in "Nicias to contrive means to prevent fighting; as "if fighting was not the buſineſs he came about." Their conſternation, indeed was ſo great, that, inſtead of the fifteen generals they had, they choſe three others, and the people promiſed upon oath, to indulge them with a power of acting at diſcretion.

The temple of Jupiter Olympius was near the camp, and the Athenians were deſirous to take it, becauſe of the quantity of its rich offerings in gold

* Nicias knew he could not make a deſcent from his ſhips near Syracuſe, becauſe the inhabitants were prepared for him; nor could he go by land for want of cavalry.

gold and ſilver. But Nicias induſtriouſly put off the attack, and ſuffered a Syracuſan garriſon to enter it; perſuaded that the plunder his troops might get there, would be of no ſervice to the public, and that he ſhould bear all the blame of the ſacrilege.

The news of the victory ſoon ſpread over the whole iſland, but Nicias made not the leaſt improvement of it. He ſoon retired to Naxos *, and wintered there; keeping an army on foot at a great expence, and effecting but little; for only a few Sicilians came over to him. The Syracuſans recovered their ſpirits again ſo as to make another excurſion to Catana, in which they ravaged the country, and burnt the Athenian camp. Mean while all the world cenſured Nicias, and ſaid, that by his long deliberations, delays and extreme caution, he loſt the time for action. When he did act, there was nothing to be blamed in the manner of it: For he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he was timid and dilatory in forming a reſolution.

When he had once determined to return with his forces to Syracuſe, he conducted all his movements with ſo much prudence, expedition and ſafety, that he had gained the Peninſula of Thapſos, diſembarked his men, and got poſſeſſion of Epipolae, before the enemy knew of his approach. He beat on this occaſion ſome infantry that were ſent to ſuccour the fort, and made three hundred priſoners; he likewiſe routed their cavalry, which was thought invincible.

But what moſt aſtoniſhed the Sicilians, and appeared incredible to the Greeks, was, that in a ſhort ſpace of time he encloſed Syracuſe with a wall, a city not leſs than Athens, and much more difficult to be ſurrounded by ſuch a work, by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ground, the vicinity of the ſea, and the adjoining marſhes. Add to this, that it was almoſt effected by a man whoſe health was by no means

* A city between Syracuſe and Catana.

means equal to ſuch an undertaking, for he was afflicted with the ſtone; and if it was not entirely finiſhed, we muſt impute it to that circumſtance.

I cannot, indeed, but admire the attention of the general and the invincible courage of the ſoldiers, in effecting what they did, in this as well as other inſtances. Euripides, after their defeat and death, wrote this epitaph for them;

Eight trophies theſe from Syracuſe obtain'd
Ere yet the gods were partial.

And in fact we find that the Athenians gained not only eight, but ſeveral more victories of the Syracuſans, 'till the gods or fortune declared againſt them, at a time when they were arrived at the higheſt pitch of power. Nicias forced himſelf, beyond what his health would allow, to attend moſt of the actions in perſon; but when his diſtemper was very violent, he was obliged to keep his bed in the camp, with a few ſervants to wait upon him.

Mean time, Lamachus, who was now commander in chief, came to an engagement with the Syracuſans, who were drawing a croſs wall from the city, to hinder the Athenians from finiſhing theirs. The Athenians generally having the advantage, went in too diſorderly a manner upon the purſuit; and it happened one day that Lamachus was left almoſt alone to receive the enemy's cavalry. Callicrates, an officer remarkable for his ſtrength and courage, advanced before them, and gave Lamachus the challenge; which he did not decline. Lamachus received the firſt wound, which proved mortal, but he returned it upon his adverſary, and they fell both together. The Syracuſans remaining maſters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off; and without loſing a moment, marched to the Athenian camp, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. Rouſed, however, by neceſſity and the ſight of his danger, he ordered thoſe about him

to

to ſet fire to the materials before the entrenchments which were provided for the machines, and to the machines themſelves. This put a ſtop to the Syracuſans, and ſaved Nicias, together with the Athenian camp and baggage. For as ſoon as they beheld the flames riſing in vaſt columns between the camp and them, they retired.

Nicias now remained ſole commander, but he had reaſon to form the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. The cities declared for him, and ſhips laden with proviſions came daily to his camp; his affairs being in ſo good a train that the Sicilians ſtrove which ſhould firſt expreſs their attachment. The Syracuſans themſelves, deſpairing of holding out much longer, began to talk of propoſals for an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedaemon to their ſuccour, being informed of the wall with which they were encloſed, and the extremities they were reduced to, continued his voyage, not with a view to Sicily, which he gave up for loſt, but if poſſible, to ſave the Greek cities in Italy. For the renown of the Athenians was now very extenſive; it was reported that they carried all before them, and that they had a general whoſe prudence, as well as good fortune, rendered him invincible. Nicias himſelf, contrary to his nature, was ſuddenly elated by his preſent ſtrength and ſucceſs; the more ſo, becauſe he was perſuaded, upon private intelligence from Syracuſe, as well as more public application, that the city was about to capitulate. Hence it that he took no account of the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any regular guard to prevent his coming aſhore; ſo that, ſcreened by this utter negligence, Gylippus landed with ſafety. It was at a great diſtance from Syracuſe, and he found means to collect a conſiderable army. But the Syracuſans were ſo far from knowing or expecting his arrival, that they had aſſembled that very day to conſider of articles of capitulation; nay, ſome were for coming

coming to terms that moment, before the city was abſolutely encloſed. For there was but a ſmall part of the wall unfiniſhed, and all the neceſſary materials were upon the ſpot.

At this critical and dangerous inſtant Gongylus arrived from Corinth with one galley of three banks of oars. The whole town was in motion, as might naturally be expected. He told them, Gylippus would ſoon come, with ſeveral other ſhips, to their ſuccour. They could not give entire credit to Gongylus; but while they were weighing the matter a meſſenger arrived from Gylippus, with orders that they ſhould march out to join him. Immediately upon this, they recovered their ſpirits, and armed. Gylippus ſoon arrived, and put his troops in order of battle. As Nicias was drawing up againſt him, Gylippus reſted his arms, and ſent a herald with an offer of ſafe conduct to the Athenians, if they would quit Sicily. Nicias did not deign to give him any anſwer. But ſome of the ſoldiers aſked him by way of ridicule, "Whether the Syracuſans were become ſo ſtrong by the arrival of one Lacedaemonian cloak and ſtaff, as to deſpiſe the Athenians, who had lately knocked off the fetters of three hundred Spartans and releaſed them, though all abler men, and better-haired than Gylippus?"

Timaeus ſays, the Sicilians ſet no great value upon Gylippus. For in a little time they diſcovered his ſordid avarice and meanneſs; and, at his firſt appearance, they laughed at his cloak and head of hair. Yet the ſame hiſtorian relates, that as ſoon as Gylippus ſhewed himſelf, the Sicilians gathered about him, as birds do about an owl, and were ready to follow him wherever he pleaſed. And the latter account has more truth in it than the former. In the ſtaff and cloak they beheld the ſymbols of the Spartan dignity, and therefore repaired to them. Thucydides alſo tells us, that Gylippus was the only man who

who ſaved Sicily; and Philiſtus, a citizen of Syracuſe, and an eye-witneſs of thoſe tranſactions, does the ſame.

In the firſt engagement the Athenians had the advantage, and killed ſome of the Syracuſans. Gongylus of Corinth fell at the ſame time. But the next day, Gylippus ſhewed them of what conſequence experience in a general is; with the very ſame arms and horſes, and on the ſame ſpot, by only * altering his order of battle, he beat the Athenians, and drove them to their camp. Then taking the ſtones and other materials which they had brought for their wall, he continued the croſs-wall of the Syracuſans, and cut through theirs in ſuch a manner, that if they gained a victory, they could make no advantage of it.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the Syracuſans manned ſeveral veſſels; and beating about the country with their cavalry and allies, they made many priſoners. Gylippus applied to the towns in perſon, and they readily liſtened to him, and lent him all the aſſiſtance in their power. So that Nicias, relapſing into his former fears and deſpondence, at the ſight of ſuch a change of affairs, applied to the Athenians by letter, either to ſend another army, or to recall that which he had; and at the ſame time he deſired them by all means to diſmiſs him from the command, on account of his infirmities.

The Athenians had deſigned ſome time before to ſend another army into Sicily; but the envy which the firſt ſucceſs of Nicias had excited, had made them put it off upon ſeveral pretences. Now, however, they haſtened the ſuccours. They likewiſe came to a reſolution, that Demoſthenes ſhould go in

* He had the addreſs to impute the late defeat to himſelf, and to aſſure his men that their behaviour was irreproachable. He ſaid, that by ranging them the day before between walls, where their cavalry and archers had not room to act, he had prevented their conquering.

the ſpring with a reſpectable fleet; and that Eurymedon,* without waiting 'till winter was over, ſhould carry money to pay the troops, and acquaint Nicias that the people had pitched upon Euthydemus and Menander, officers who then ſerved under him, to aſſiſt him in his charge.

Mean time, Nicias was ſuddenly attacked both by ſea and land. At firſt, part of his fleet was worſted; but in the end he proved victorious, and ſunk many of the enemy's ſhips. He could not, however, ſuccour his troops by land, as the exigence of the caſe required. Gylippus made a ſudden attack upon the fort of Plemmyrium, and took it; by which means he became maſter of the naval ſtores of the Athenians, and a great quantity of treaſure, which had been lodged there. Moſt of the garriſon were either killed or taken priſoners. But, what was ſtill a greater blow to Nicias, by the loſs of this place he loſt the convenience of his convoys. For, while he had Plemmyrium, the communication was ſafe and eaſy; but when that was taken, his ſupplies could not reach him without the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe his tranſports could not paſs without fighting the enemy's ſhips which lay at anchor under the fort.

Beſides, the Syracuſans thought their fleet was beaten, not by any ſuperior ſtrength they had to combat, but by their going in a diſorderly manner upon the purſuit. They therefore fitted out a more reſpectable fleet, in order for another action. Nicias, however, did not chuſe at preſent to try the iſſue of another naval fight, but declared it very abſurd, when a large reinforcement of ſhips and freſh troops was haſtening to him under the conduct of Demoſthenes, to hazard a battle with a force ſo much inferior and ſo ill provided.

On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who were appointed to a temporary ſhare in the command, were led by their ambition and jealouſy of De-

* Eurymedon went with ten gallies.

Demoſthenes and Nicias, to ſtrike ſome extraordinary ſtroke, in order to be beforehand with the one, and to outdo the moſt ſhining actions of the other. Their pretence was the glory of Athens, which they ſaid would be utterly loſt, if they ſhewed any fear of the Syracuſan fleet. Thus they over-ruled Nicias, and gave battle. But they were ſoon defeated by a ſtratagem of Ariſton the Corinthian, who was a moſt excellent ſeaman *. Their left wing, as Thucydides relates, was entirely routed, and they loſt great numbers of their men. This loſs threw Nicias into the greateſt conſternation. He reflected upon the checks he had met with while he had the ſole command, and that he had now miſcarried again through the obſtinacy of his collegues.

While he was indulging theſe reflections, Demoſthenes appeared before the port with a very gallant and formidable fleet. He had † ſeventy three gallies, on board of which were five thouſand heavy-armed ſoldiers, and archers, ſpearmen and ſlingers to the number of three thouſand. Their armour glittered, the ſtreamers waved, and the prows of the ſhips were adorned with a variety of rich paintings. He advanced with loud chears and martial muſic, and the whole was conducted in a theatrical manner, to ſtrike terror into the enemy.

The Syracuſans were ready to fall into deſpair again. They ſaw no end or truce to their miſeries; their labours and conflicts were all to begin anew, and they had been prodigal of their blood to no purpoſe. Nicias, however, had not long to rejoice at the

* Ariſton adviſed the captains of the gallies to have refreſhments ready for their men on the ſhore, while the Athenians imagined they went into the town for them. The Athenians, thus deceived, landed and went to dinner likewiſe. In the mean time the Syracuſans, having made an expeditious meal, re-embarked, and attacked the Athenian ſhips when there was ſcarce any body to defend them.

† Diodorus Siculus makes th[illegible]

arrival of ſuch an army. At the firſt interview, Demoſthenes wanted him to attack the enemy, that they might take Syracuſe by an immediate and deciſive ſtroke, and return again with glory to Athens. Nicias, aſtoniſhed at his heat and precipitation, deſired him to adopt no raſh or deſperate meaſures. He aſſured him, delay would make againſt the enemy, ſince they were already in want of money, and their allies would ſoon quit both them and their cauſe. Conſequently, when they began to feel the hard hand of neceſſity, they would apply to him again, and ſurrender upon terms, as they were going to do before. In fact, Nicias had a private underſtanding with ſeveral perſons in Syracuſe, who adviſed him to wait with patience, becauſe the inhabitants were tired out with the war, and weary of Gylippus; and when their neceſſities ſhould become a little more preſſing, they would give up the diſpute.

As Nicias mentioned theſe things in an enigmatical manner, and did not chuſe to ſpeak out, it gave occaſion to the other generals to accuſe him of timidity. "He is coming upon us," ſaid they, "with his old delays, dilatory, ſlow, over-cautious "counſels, by which the vigour and ardour of his "troops was loſt. When he ſhould have led them "on immediately, he waited till their ſpirit was gone, "and the enemy began to look upon them with "contempt." The other officers, therefore, liſtened to Demoſthenes, and Nicias at laſt was forced to give up the point.

Upon this, Demoſthenes put himſelf at the head of the land-forces, and attacked Epipolae in the night. As he came upon the guards by ſurprize, he killed many of them, and routed thoſe who ſtood upon their defence. Not content with this advantage, he proceeded till he came to the quarter where the Boeotians were poſted. Theſe cloſed their ranks, and firſt charged the Athenians, advancing with levelled

velled pikes and with all the alarm of voices; by which means they repulſed them, and killed a conſiderable number. Terror and confuſion ſpread through the reſt of the army. They who ſtill kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by thoſe that fled; and they who were marching down from Epipolae to ſupport the foremaſt bands, were put in diſorder by the fugitives; for they fell foul on one another, and took their friends for enemies. The confuſion, indeed, was inexpreſſible, occaſioned by their fears, the uncertainty of their movements, and the impoſſibility of diſcerning objects as they could have wiſhed, in a night which was neither quite dark nor ſufficiently clear; the moon being near her ſetting, and the little light ſhe gave rendered uſeleſs by the ſhade of ſo many bodies and weapons moving to and fro. Hence the apprehenſions of meeting with an enemy, made the Athenians ſuſpect their friends, and threw them into the utmoſt perplexity and diſtreſs. They happened, too, to have the moon upon their backs, which caſting their ſhadows before them, both hid the number of their men and the glittering of their arms; whereas the reflection from the ſhields of the enemy, made them appear more numerous, and better armed than they really were. At laſt, they turned their backs, and were entirely routed. The enemy preſſed hard upon them on all ſides, and killed great numbers. Many others met their death in the weapons of their friends. Not a few fell head-long from the rocks or walls. The reſt were diſperſed about the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the cavalry, and put to the ſword. The Athenians loſt two thouſand men in this action; and very few returned with their arms to the head-quarters.

This was a ſevere blow to Nicias, though it was what he expected; and he inveighed againſt the raſh proceedings of Demoſthenes. That general defended himſelf as well as he could, but at the ſame

time gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould embark and return home as faſt as poſſible. "We cannot "hope," ſaid he, "either for another army, or to "conquer with the forces we have. Nay, ſuppoſing "we had the advantage, we ought to relinquiſh a "ſituation, which is well-known at all times to be "unhealthy for the troops, and which now we find "ſtill more fatal from the ſeaſon of the year." It was, indeed, the beginning of autumn; numbers were ſick, and the whole army was diſpirited.

Nevertheleſs, Nicias could not bear to hear of retiring home; not that he was afraid of any oppoſition from the Syracuſans, but he dreaded the Athenian tribunals and unfair impeachments there. He therefore replied, "That there was no great and vi-"ſible danger at preſent; and, if there were, he had "rather die by the hands of the enemy, than thoſe "of his fellow-citizens." In this reſpect he greatly differed from Leo of Byzantium, who afterwards ſaid to his countrymen, "I had rather die for you, than "with you." Nicias added, "That if it ſhould "appear neceſſary to encamp in another place, they "might conſider of it at their leiſure."

Demoſthenes urged the matter no farther, becauſe his former counſels had proved unfortunate. And he was more willing to ſubmit, becauſe he ſaw others perſuaded, that it was the dependance Nicias had on his correſpondence in the town, which made him ſo ſtrongly oppoſe their return to Athens. But, as freſh forces came to the aſſiſtance of the Syracuſans, and the ſickneſs prevailed more and more in the Athenian camp, Nicias himſelf altered his opinion, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark.

Every thing accordingly was prepared for embarkation, and the enemy paid no attention to theſe movements, becauſe they did not expect them. But in the night there happened an eclipſe of the moon, at which Nicias and all the reſt were ſtruck with a great panic, either through ignorance or ſuperſtition.

As for an eclipſe of the ſun, which happens at the conjunction, even the common people had ſome idea of its being cauſed by the interpoſition of the moon. But they could not eaſily form a conception, by the interpoſition of what body, the moon, when at the full, ſhould ſuddenly loſe her light, and aſſume ſuch a variety of colours. They looked upon it therefore as a ſtrange and preternatural phaenomenon, a ſign by which the gods announced ſome great calamity.

Anaxagoras was the firſt who with any clearneſs and certainty ſhewed in what manner the moon was illuminated and overſhadowed. But he was an author of no* antiquity, nor was his treatiſe much known; it was confined to a few hands, and communicated with caution and under the ſeal of ſecrecy. For the people had an averſion to natural philoſophers and thoſe who were then called *Meteoroleſchae* [*enquirers into the nature of meteors*] ſuppoſing that they injured the divine power and providence by aſcribing things to inſenſate cauſes, unintelligent powers, and inevitable neceſſity. Protagoras was forced to fly on account of ſuch a ſyſtem; and Anaxagoras was thrown into priſon, from whence Pericles with great difficulty got him delivered. Even Socrates,† who meddled not with phyſics, loſt his life for philoſophy. At laſt the glory of Plato enlightened the world, and his doctrine was generally received, both on account of his life, and his ſubjecting the neceſſity of natural cauſes to a more powerful and divine principle. Thus he removed all ſuſpicion of impiety from ſuch reſearches, and brought the ſtudy of mathematics

* He was contemporary with Pericles, and with Nicias too: for he died the firſt year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, and Nicias was killed the fourth year of the ninety-firſt.

† Socrates tells us in his apology, that he had been accuſed of a criminal curioſity in prying into the heavens and into the abyſſes of the earth. However he could not be ſaid to loſe his life for his philoſophy ſo much as for his theology.

into faſhion. Hence it was, that his friend Dion, though the moon was eclipſed at the time of his going from Zacynthus againſt Dionyſius, was not in the leaſt diſconcerted, but purſued his voyage, and expelled the tyrant.

It was a great unhappineſs to Nicias, that he had not then with him an able diviner. Stilbides, whom he employed on ſuch occaſions, and who uſed to leſſen the influence of his ſuperſtition, died a little before. Suppoſing the eclipſe a prodigy, it could not, as Philochorus obſerves, be inauſpicious to thoſe who wanted to fly, but on the contrary very favourable. For whatever is tranſacted with fear, ſeeks the ſhades of darkneſs; light is the worſt enemy. Beſides, on other occaſions, as * Auticlides remarks in his commentaries, there were only three days that people refrained from buſineſs after an eclipſe of either ſun or moon; whereas Nicias wanted to ſtay another entire revolution of the moon, as if he could not ſee her as bright as ever, the moment ſhe paſſed the ſhadow cauſed by the interpoſition of the earth.

He quitted, however, almoſt every other care, and ſat ſtill obſerving his ſacrifices, till the enemy came upon him, and inveſted his walls and entrenchments with their land forces, as well as circled the harbour with their fleet. Not only the men from their ſhips, but the very boys from fiſhing-boats and ſmall barks, challenged the Athenians to come out, and offered them every kind of inſult. One of theſe boys, named Heraclides, who was of one of the beſt families in Syracuſe, advancing too far, was purſued by an Athenian veſſel, and very near being taken. His uncle Pollichus ſeeing his danger, made up with ten gallies which were under his command; and others, in fear for Pollichus, advanced to ſupport him. A ſharp conflict enſued, in which the Syracuſans were victorious,

* This ſhould probably be read Anticlides; for he ſeems to be the ſame perſon whom Plutarch has mentioned in the life of Alexander, and in his Iſis and Oſiris.

victorious, and Eurymedon and numbers more were killed.

The Athenians not brooking any farther delay, with great indignation called upon their generals to lead them off by land. For the Syracuſans, immediately after the victory, blocked up the harbour. Nicias, however, would not agree to it; thinking it a cruel thing to abandon ſo many ſhips of burthen and near two hundred gallies. He therefore embarked his beſt infantry, and a ſelect number of archers and ſpearmen, and manned with them a hundred and ten gallies; as far as his rowers would ſupply him. The reſt of his troops he drew up on the ſhore; abandoning his great camp and his walls which reached to the temple of Hercules. The Syracuſans had not for a long time offered the uſual ſacrifices to that deity, but now both the prieſts and generals went to obſerve the ſolemnity.

Their troops were embarked; and the inſpectors of the entrails promiſed the Syracuſans a glorious victory, provided they did not begin the attack, but only repelled force with force. For Hercules, they ſaid, was victorious only in ſtanding upon the defenſive, and waiting to be attacked. Thus inſtructed, the Syracuſans ſet out.

Then the great ſea-fight began; remarkable not only for the vigour that was exerted, but for its cauſing as great a variety of paſſion and agitation in the ſpectators as in the combatants themſelves. For thoſe who looked on from the ſhore, could diſcern every different and unexpected turn it took. The Athenians ſuffered not more harm from the enemy, than they did from their own order of battle and the nature of their armament. Their ſhips were all crowded together, and were heavy and unwieldy beſides, while thoſe of the enemy were ſo light and nimble, that they could eaſily change their ſituation, and attack the Athenians on all ſides. Add to this, that the Syracuſans were provided with a vaſt quantity of

ſtones,

ſtones, which ſeldom failed of their effect, wherever diſcharged; and the Athenians had nothing to oppoſe to them but darts and arrows, the flight of which was ſo diverted by the motion of the ſhip, that few of them could reach their mark. The enemy was put upon this expedition by Ariſton the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell, the moment that victory was declaring for the Syracuſans.

After this dreadful defeat and loſs, there was no poſſibility of eſcaping by ſea. At the ſame time the Athenians ſaw it was extremely difficult to ſave themſelves by land. In this deſpair they neither oppoſed the enemy who were ſeizing their veſſels cloſe to the ſhore, nor demanded their dead. They thought it not ſo deplorable a circumſtance to leave the dead without burial, as to abandon the ſick and wounded. And though they had great miſeries before their eyes, they looked upon their own caſe as ſtill more unhappy, ſince they had many calamities to undergo, and were to meet the ſame fate at laſt.

They did, however, deſign to begin their march in the night. Gylippus ſaw the Syracuſans employed in ſacrifices to the gods, and in entertaining their friends on account of the victory, and the feaſt of Hercules; and he knew that neither intreaty nor force would prevail with them to leave the joys of feſtivity, and oppoſe the enemy's flight. But * Hermocrates found out a method to impoſe upon Nicias. He ſent perſons in whom he could confide, who were to pretend they came from the old correſpondents of that general within the town; and that their buſineſs was to deſire him not to march in the night, becauſe the Syracuſans had laid ſeveral ambuſhes for him, and ſeized all the paſſes. The ſtratagem had its effect.

* Hermocrates was ſenſible of what importance it was to prevent Nicias from retiring by land. With an army of forty thouſand men which he had ſtill left, he might have fortified himſelf in ſome part of Sicily, and renewed the war.

fect. Nicias ſat ſtill in the ſimplicity of his heart, fearing he ſhould really fall into the enemy's ſnares. In the morning the enemy got out before him. Then indeed they did ſeize all the difficult paſſes; they threw up works againſt the fords, broke down the bridges, and planted their cavalry wherever the ground was open and even; ſo that the Athenians could not move one ſtep without fighting.

Theſe poor men lay cloſe all that day and the night following, and then began their march with tears and loud lamentations; as if they had been going to quit their native country, not that of the enemy. They were, indeed, in great want of proviſion, and it was a miſerable circumſtance to leave their ſick and wounded friends and comrades behind them; yet they looked upon their preſent misfortunes as ſmall in compariſon of thoſe they had to expect.

But, among the various ſpectacles of miſery, there was not one more pitiable than Nicias himſelf; oppreſt as he was with ſickneſs, and unworthily reduced to hard diet and a ſcanty proviſion, when his infirmities required a liberal ſupply. Yet, in ſpite of his ill health, he acted and endured many things which the more robuſt underwent not without difficulty. All this while his troops could not but obſerve, it was not for his own ſake, or any attatchment to life, that he ſubmitted to ſuch labours, but that he ſeemed ſtill to cheriſh hope on their account. When ſorrow and fear brought others to tears and complaints, if Nicias ever dropt a tear among the reſt, it was plain he did it from a reflection on the miſerable and diſgraceful iſſue of the war, which he hoped to have finiſhed with great honour and ſucceſs. Nor was it only the ſight of his preſent miſery that moved them, but when they recollected the ſpeeches and warnings by which he endeavoured to diſſuade the people from the expedition, they could not but think his lot much more unhappy than he deſerved. All their hopes, too, of aſſiſtance from heaven abandoned them, when they obſerved

obſerved that ſo religious a man as Nicias, one who had thought no expence too great in the ſervice of the gods, had no better fortune than the meaneſt and moſt profligate perſon in the army.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, he ſtill endeavoured by the tone of his voice, by his looks, and every expreſſion of kindneſs to the ſoldiers, to ſhew himſelf ſuperior to his misfortunes. Nay, through a march of eight days, though attacked and harraſſed all the way by the enemy, he preſerved his own diviſion of the army tolerably entire; till Demoſthenes was taken priſoner, and the troops he had the conduct of, were ſurrounded, after a brave reſiſtance, at a ſmall place called Polyzelium. Demoſthenes then drew his ſword and ſtabbed himſelf, but as the enemy came immediately upon him and ſeized him, he had not time to give himſelf the finiſhing ſtroke.

Some Syracuſans rode up to Nicias with this news, and he ſent a few of his own cavalry to know the certainty. Finding, from their account, that Demoſthenes and his party were really priſoners, he begged to treat with Gylippus, and offered hoſtages for paying the Syracuſans the whole charges of the war, on condition they would ſuffer the Athenians to quit Sicily. The Syracuſans rejected the propoſal with every mark of inſolence and outrage, and fell again upon a wretched man who was in want of all manner of neceſſaries. *

He defended himſelf, however, all that night, and continued his march the next day to the river Aſinarus. The enemy galled his troops all the way, and, when they came to the banks of the river, puſhed them in. Nay ſome, impatient to quench their burning thirſt, voluntarily plunged into the ſtream. Then followed a moſt

* But were theſe brave people to blame? Was it not natural for them to uſe every means in their power to harraſs and weaken an enemy, who had ambitiouſly conſidered their country as a property?

a moſt cruel ſcene of blood and ſlaughter; the poor wretches being maſſacred as they were drinking. At laſt, Nicias threw himſelf at the feet of Gylippus, and ſaid, "Gylippus, you ſhould ſhew ſome compaſſion "amidſt your victory. I aſk nothing for myſelf. "What is life to a man, whoſe misfortunes are even "proverbial? But, with reſpect to the other Athe- "nians, methinks, you ſhould remember that the "chance of war is uncertain, and with what huma- "nity and moderation they treated you, when they "were victorious."

Gylippus was ſomewhat affected both at the ſight of Nicias, and at his ſpeech. He knew the good offices he had done the Lacedaemonians at the laſt treaty of peace; and he was ſenſible it would contribute greatly to his honour, if he could take two of the enemy's generals priſoners. Therefore, raiſing Nicias from the ground, he bade him take courage; and gave orders that the other Athenians ſhould have quarter. But as the order was ſlowly communicated, the number of thoſe that were ſaved was greatly inferior to that of the ſlain; though the ſoldiers ſpared ſeveral, unknown to their officers.

When the Syracuſans had collected all the priſoners they could find into one body, they dreſſed ſome of the talleſt and ſtraighteſt trees that grew by the river, as trophies, with the arms they had taken from the enemy. After which, they marched homeward, with garlands on their heads, and with their horſes adorned in the moſt ſplendid manner; having firſt ſhorn thoſe of the Athenians. Thus they entered the city, as it were in triumph, after the happy termination of the ſharpeſt diſpute that ever ſubſiſted between Grecians, and one of the moſt complete victories the ſun ever beheld, gained by a glorious and perſevering exertion of firmneſs and valour.

A general aſſembly of the people of Syracuſe and of its allies then was held, in which *Eurycles the

* Diodorus Siculus calls him Diocles.

the orator propoſed a decree, "That, in the firſt "place, the day they took Nicias ſhould be ob- "ſerved as a feſtival, with the title of *Aſinaria*, "from the river where that great event took place, "and that it ſhould be entirely employed in ſacrifi- "ces to the gods." This was the twenty-ſeventh day of the Month *Carneus*, called by the Athenians *Metagitnion* *. "As to the priſoners, he propoſed, "that the Athenian ſervants and all the allies "ſhould be ſold for ſlaves; that ſuch of the Athe- "nians as were freemen, and the Sicilians their "partizans, ſhould be confined to the quarries; "and that the generals ſhould be put to death." As the Syracuſans accepted the bill, Hermocrates roſe up and ſaid, "It was a more glorious thing to "make a good uſe of a victory, than to gain one." But his motion raiſed a great ferment in the aſſembly. Gylippus expreſſing his deſire to have the Athenian generals, that he might carry them priſoners to Lacedaemon, the Syracuſans, now grown inſolent with their good fortune, loaded him with reproaches. Indeed, they could not well bear his ſeverity and Lacedaemonian rigour in command, while the war laſted. Beſides, as Timaeus obſerves, they had diſcovered in him an avarice and meanneſs, which was a diſeaſe he inherited from his father Cleandrides, who was baniſhed for taking of bribes. The ſon, out of the thouſand talents which Lyſander ſent by him to Sparta, purloined thirty, and hid them under the tiles of his houſe. Being detected in it, he fled his country with the utmoſt diſgrace; as we have related more at large in the life of Lyſander.

Timaeus does not agree with Philiſtus and Thucydides, that Demoſthenes and Nicias were ſtoned to

* Though it is not eaſy, as we have obſerved in a former note, to bring the Grecian months to tally with ours, yet we agree in this place with Dacier, that September is probably meant, or part of it; becauſe Plutarch had ſaid above, that the ſickneſs had Got in Autumn.

to death by the Syracuſans. Inſtead of that, he tells us, that Hermocrates ſent one of his people, to acquaint theſe two generals with what was paſſing in the aſſembly, and his meſſenger being admitted by the guards before the court was diſmiſſed, the unhappy men diſpatched themſelves. Their bodies were thrown without the gates, and lay there expoſed to the view of all thoſe who wanted to enjoy the ſpectacle. I am informed that a ſhield, ſaid to be that of Nicias, is ſhewn to this day in one of the temples at Syracuſe; the exterior texture of which is gold and purple, and executed with ſurpriſing art.

As to the other Athenians, the greateſt part periſhed in the quarries to which they were confined, by diſeaſes and bad diet; for they were allowed only a pint of barley a-day, and half a pint of water. Many of thoſe who were concealed by the ſoldiers, or eſcaped by paſſing as ſervants, were ſold for ſlaves, and ſtigmatized with the figure of a horſe upon their foreheads. Several of theſe, however, ſubmitted to their fate with patience; and the modeſty and decency with which they behaved, were ſuch, that they were either ſoon releaſed, or treated in their ſervitude with great reſpect by their maſters.

Some there were who owed their preſervation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muſe whom the Sicilians were moſt in love with. From every ſtranger that landed in their iſland, they gleaned every ſmall ſpecimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleaſure to each other. It is ſaid that on this occaſion a number of Athenians, upon their return home, went to Euripides, and thanked him in the moſt reſpectful manner for their obligations to his pen; ſome having been enfranchiſed for teaching their maſters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreſhments when they were wandering about after the battle for ſinging a few of his verſes. Nor is this to be wonder-

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ed at, ſince they tell us, that when a ſhip from Caunus, which happened to be purſued by pirates, was going to take ſhelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at firſt refuſed to admit her; but upon aſking the crew whether they knew any of the verſes of Euripides, and being anſwered in the affirmative, they received both them and their veſſel.

The Athenians, we are told, did not give credit to the firſt news of this misfortune; the perſon who brought it, not appearing to deſerve their notice. It ſeems, a ſtranger who landed in the Piraeus, as he ſate to be ſhaved in a barber's ſhop, ſpoke of it as an event already known to the Athenians. The barber no ſooner heard it, but, before the ſtranger could communicate it to any other perſon, he ran into the city; and applying to the magiſtrates, informed them of the news in open court. Trouble and diſmay ſeized all that heard it. The magiſtrates immediately ſummoned an aſſembly, and introduced the informant. There he was interrogated, of whom he had the intelligence; and, as he could give no clear and pertinent anſwer, he was conſidered as a * forger of falſe news and a public incendiary. In this light he was faſtened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for ſome time, till at length ſome credible perſons arrived; who gave a diſtinct account of the whole diſaſter. With ſo much difficulty did the misfortunes of Nicias find credit among the Athenians, though he had often forewarned them that they would certainly happen.

* Caſauban would infer from hence, that the Athenians had a law for puniſhing the forgers of falſe news. But this perſon was puniſhed, not ſo much as a forger of falſe news as a public incendiary, who by exciting groundleſs terrors in the people aided and abetted their enemies.

MA-R-

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS Craſſus, whoſe father had borne the office of cenſor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a ſmall houſe with his two brothers. Theſe married while their parents were living, and they all eat at the ſame table. This, we may ſuppoſe, contributed not a little to render him ſober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his houſe. With reſpect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when ſomewhat advanced in years, he was ſuſpected of a criminal commerce with one of the veſtal virgins named Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It ſeems, the veſtal had a beautiful country-houſe, which Craſſus wanting to have at an under-price, paid his court to the lady with great aſſiduity, and thence fell under that ſuſpicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the veſtal: and he never let her reſt 'till ſhe had ſold him her houſe.

The Romans ſay, Craſſus had only that one vice of avarice, which caſt a ſhade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality,

becauſe it was ſo much ſtronger and more powerful than the reſt, that it quite obſcured them. His love of money is very evident from the ſize of his eſtate, and his manner of raiſing it. At firſt it did not exceed three hundred talents. But, during his public employments, after he had conſecrated the tenths of his ſubſtance to Hercules, given an entertainment of the people, and a ſupply of bread-corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was maſter of ſeven thouſand one hundred talents. The greateſt part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth to his extreme diſgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffick of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and ſold the eſtates of thoſe whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the ſpoils of his enemies, he was deſirous to involve all perſons of conſequence in his crime, and he found in Craſſus a man who refuſed no kind of gift or purchaſe.

Craſſus obſerved alſo, how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houſes fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their * ſtanding ſo cloſe together. In conſequence of this, he provided himſelf with ſlaves who were carpenters and maſons, and went on collecting them 'till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his buſineſs to buy houſes that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reaſon of the fear and diſtreſs the owners were in about the event. Hence, in time he became maſter of great part of Rome. But though he had ſo many workmen, he built no more for himſelf than one houſe in which he lived. For he uſed to ſay, "That "thoſe who love building will ſoon ruin themſelves, "and need no other enemies."

Though

* The ſtreets were narrow and crooked, and the houſes chiefly of wood, after the Gauls had burnt the city.

Though he had ſeveral ſilver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers who turned them to the beſt advantage, yet it may be truly aſſerted, that the revenue he drew from theſe, was nothing in compariſon of that produced by his ſlaves. Such a number had he of them, and all uſeful in life, readers, amanuenſes, book-keepers, ſtewards and cooks. He uſed to attend to their education, and often give them leſſons himſelf; eſteeming it a principal part of the buſineſs of a maſter to inſpect and take care of his ſervants, whom he conſidered as the living inſtruments of œconomy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often ſaid, that other matters ſhould be managed by ſervants, but the ſervants by the maſter. Indeed, œconomics, ſo far as they regard only inanimate things, ſerve only the low purpoſes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they riſe higher, and form a conſiderable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in ſaying, that no man ought to be eſteemed rich, who could not with his own revenue maintain an army. For, as Archidamus obſerves, it never can be calculated what ſuch a monſter as war will devour. Nor conſequently can it be determined what fortune is ſufficient for its demands. Very different in this reſpect were the ſentiments of Craſſus from thoſe of Marius. When the latter had made a diſtribution of lands among his ſoldiers at the rate of fourteen acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he ſaid, "I hope no Roman will "ever think that portion of land too little, which "is ſufficient to maintain him."

It muſt be acknowledged, that Craſſus behaved in a generous manner to ſtrangers; his houſe was always open to them. To which we may add, that he uſed to lend money to his friends without intereſt. Nevertheleſs, his rigour in demanding his money the very day it was due, often made his appearing favour a greater inconvenience than the

paying of intereſt would have been. As to his invitations, they were moſt of them to the commonalty; and though there was a ſimplicity in the proviſion, yet at the ſame time there was a neatneſs and unceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than more expenſive tables.

As to his ſtudies, he cultivated oratory, moſt particularly that of the bar, which had its ſuperior utility. And though he might be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the firſt-rate ſpeakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded thoſe whom nature had favoured more. For there was not a cauſe, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Beſides, when Pompey and Cæſar and Cicero refuſed to ſpeak, he often roſe and finiſhed the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of his to aſſiſt any unfortunate citizen, was a very popular thing. And his obliging manner in his common addreſs, had an equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and inſignificant, whom he did not ſalute, or whoſe ſalutation he did not return, by name.

His knowledge of hiſtory is alſo ſaid to have been extenſive, and he was not without a taſte of Ariſtotle's philoſophy. In the latter branch he was aſſiſted by a philoſopher named * Alexander; a man who gave the moſt glorious proofs of his diſintereſted and mild diſpoſition, during his acquaintance with Craſſus. For it is not eaſy to ſay, whether his poverty was greater, when he entered, or when he left his houſe. He was the only friend that Craſſus would take with him into the country; on which occaſions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable; particularly,

* Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Mileſian, who is alſo called Polyhiſtor and Cornelius; and who is ſaid to have flouriſhed in the times of Sylla.

particularly, if we conſider that the † philoſophy he profeſſed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent. But this was a later circumſtance in the life of Craſſus.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it ſoon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and deſtruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Craſſus. Craſſus himſelf, who was then a very young man, eſcaped the preſent danger. But, as he ſaw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all ſides, he took three friends and ten ſervants with him, and fled with ſurpriſing expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his praetorſhip, and gained himſelf friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually preſent; therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public. Inſtead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Pacianus had contiguous to the ſea, and hid himſelf in a ſpacious cave there. From thence he ſent one of his ſervants to ſound Vibius; for his proviſions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had eſcaped, enquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in perſon, but ſent immediately for the ſteward of that farm, and ordered him to dreſs a ſupper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in ſilence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promiſed him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commiſſion.

† Ariſtotle's, as well as Plato's philoſophy, reckoned riches among real bleſſings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

The cave is at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. The ſurrounding rocks which form it, admit only a ſlight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is aſtoniſhingly lofty, and the compaſs of it is ſo great, that it has ſeveral large caverns, like a ſuite of rooms, one within another. It is not deſtitute either of water or light. A ſpring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are ſmall natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which day-light is admitted. By reaſon of the thickneſs of the rock, the interior air too is pure and clear; the foggy and moiſt part of it being carried away with the ſtream.

Craſſus in this aſylum had his proviſions brought every day by the ſteward, who neither ſaw nor knew him or his people, though he was ſeen by them, becauſe they knew his time, and watched for his coming. And he brought not only what was ſufficient for uſe, but delicacies too for pleaſure. For Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindneſs. He reflected that ſome regard ſhould be had to his time of life, and as he was very young, that he ſhould have ſome particular indulgences on that account. To ſupply his neceſſities only, he thought, looked more like conſtraint than friendſhip. Therefore, one day he took with him two handſome maid-ſervants, and walked towards the ſea. When they came to the cave, he ſhewed them the entrance, and bade them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Craſſus ſeeing them, was afraid his retreat was diſcovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They anſwered, as they were inſtructed, "That they were come to ſeek their maſter who "lay concealed there." Upon which, he perceived, it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who ſtudied to divert him. He received the damſels, therefore, and kept them all the time he ſtayed there; and they ſerved to carry his meſſages to Vibius, and

and to bring anſwers back. Feneſtella * ſays, he ſaw one of them when ſhe was very old, and often heard her tell the ſtory with pleaſure.

Craſſus ſpent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he ſelected a corps of two thouſand five hundred men. With theſe he viſited the cities; and moſt hiſtorians agree, that he pillaged one called Malaca. But others tell us, he abſolutely denied it, and diſclaimed the thing in the face of thoſe who ſpread the report. After this, he collected veſſels, and paſſed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raiſed conſiderable forces. He did not, however, ſtay long there. Upon ſome difference with Metellus, he applied himſelf to Sylla, who received him with pleaſure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he choſe to keep the young men he had about him in exerciſe, and ſent them upon various commiſſions. Craſſus he diſpatched to levy troops among the Marſi; and, as his paſſage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "I give thee for guards," ſaid he, in an angry tone, "I give thee for guards, "thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, "who have been unjuſtly and abominably ſacrificed, "and whoſe cauſe I am going to revenge upon "their murderers."

Craſſus rouſed and inflamed with theſe words, paſſed boldly through the midſt of the enemy; raiſed a reſpectable army, and ſhewed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's

* Feneſtella wrote ſeveral books of annals. He might very well have ſeen one of theſe ſlaves when ſhe was old; for he did not die 'till the ſixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor 'till he was ſeventy years of age.

conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his firſt competition and diſpute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey was the younger man, and had this great diſadvantage beſides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth with ſuch luſtre on theſe occaſions, that Sylla treated him with more reſpect than he generally ſhewed much older men, or even thoſe of his own rank. For he uſed to riſe up at his approach, and uncover his head, and ſalute him as *Imperator*.

Craſſus was not a little piqued at theſe things, though there was no reaſon for his pretenſions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; beſides, his innate blemiſhes, his avarice and meanneſs, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity. For inſtance, when he took the city of Tuder in Umbria, he was ſuppoſed to have appropriated the greateſt part of the plunder to his own uſe, and was repreſented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greateſt and moſt deciſive of all, Sylla was worſted, his troops repulſed, and a number of them killed. Meantime, Craſſus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and having purſued the enemy 'till night, ſent to inform Sylla of his ſucceſs, and to demand refreſhments for his men.

But in the time of the proſcriptions and confiſcations, he loſt all the credit he had gained; buying great eſtates at an under-price, and often begging ſuch as he had caſt his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is ſaid to have proſcribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to ſeize his fortune. Upon this, Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Craſſus was an exquiſite flatterer himſelf, yet no man was more eaſily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the moſt covetous men in the world,

no

no man was more averſe to, or more ſevere againſt ſuch as reſembled him.* But it gave him ſtill more pain to ſee Pompey ſo ſucceſsful in all his employments, to ſee him honoured with a triumph, and ſaluted by the citizens with the title of *the great*. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the great "was coming;" upon which, he anſwered with a ſcornful ſmile, "How big is he?"

As he deſpaired of riſing to an equality with him in war, he betook himſelf to the adminiſtration; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by aſſiſting and canvaſſing for perſons who ſtood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military atchievements. There was ſomething remarkably peculiar in their caſe. The name and intereſt of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was abſent and † diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the field. When preſent, Craſſus often carried his point againſt him. This muſt be imputed to the ſtate and grandeur that he affected: he ſeldom ſhewed himſelf in public, or appeared in the aſſemblies of the people; and he very rarely ſerved thoſe who made application to him; imagining by that means he ſhould have his intereſt entire when he wanted it himſelf. Craſſus, on the contrary, had his ſervices ever ready for thoſe who wanted them; he conſtantly made his appearance; he was eaſy of acceſs; his life was ſpent in buſineſs and good offices; ſo that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's diſtance and ſtate.

As to dignity of perſon, powers of perſuaſion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the

* It was obſerved by the late ingenious Mr. Shenſtone, that a coxcomb will be the firſt to find out and expoſe a coxcomb. Men of the ſame virtues love each other for the ſake of thoſe virtues; but ſympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

† This was not peculiar to Pompey: it was the caſe of Marius and many others.

the ſame. But the emulation with which Craſſus was actuated, never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to ſee Pompey and Caeſar held in greater honour, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition: though Caeſar, when he was taken by pirates in Aſia, and ſtrictly confined, cried out, "O Craſſus, what plea-"ſure will it give thee to hear that I am taken!" However, they were afterwards upon a footing of friendſhip; and when Caeſar was going to ſet out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to ſeize his equipage, becauſe he could not ſatisfy them, Craſſus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarraſſment, by giving ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Caeſar and Craſſus. For, as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed. The prudent and ſteady part of the city were for Pompey; the violent and the enterpriſing gave into the proſpects of Caeſar; Craſſus ſteered a middle courſe, and availed himſelf of both. Craſſus, indeed, often changed ſides, and neither was a firm friend, nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or reſentments indifferently when his intereſt required it; inſomuch that in a ſhort ſpace of time he would appear either in ſupport or oppoſition to the ſame perſons and laws. He had ſome influence founded in love, and ſome in fear; but fear was the more ſerviceable principle of the two. An inſtance of the latter we have in Licinius, who was very troubleſome to the magiſtrates and leading orators of his time. When he was aſked, why he did not attack Craſſus among the reſt, he anſwered, "He wears* wiſps "upon his horns." So the Romans uſed to ſerve a vi-

* This paſſed into a proverb.

a vicious bull, for a warning to all perſons that paſſed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their inſurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was this. One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greateſt part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injuſtice of their maſter. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their eſcape. Though the plot was diſcovered, threeſcore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance, were beforehand with their maſter, and ſallied out of town, having firſt ſeized all the long knives and ſpits in a cook's ſhop. On the road they met ſome waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators arms to another place. Theſe they ſeized, and armed themſelves with them. Then they retired to a place of ſtrength, and made choice of three * leaders. The firſt was Spartacus, whoſe extraction was from one of thoſe Thracian *hords* called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind and ſtrength of body, but a diſcernment and civility ſuperior to his fortune. In ſhort, he was more of a Greek, than a barbarian, in his manner.

It is ſaid, that when he was firſt brought to Rome to be ſold, a ſerpent was ſeen twiſted about his face as he ſlept. His wife, who was of the ſame tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer beſides to the orgies of Bacchus, ſaid, it was a ſign that he would riſe to ſomething very great and formidable, the reſult of which would be † happy. This woman ſtill lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The

* Spartacus, Chryſus and Oenomaus. This war began in the year of Rome 680; before Chriſt 71.

† His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

The fugitives firſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by defeating a party ſent againſt them from Capua; whoſe arms they ſeized and wore with great ſatisfaction; throwing away thoſe of gladiators, as diſhonourable and barbarous. Clodius * the praetor, was then ſent againſt them from Rome, with a body of three thouſand men; and he beſieged them on the hill where they were poſted. There was but one aſcent which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a ſufficient guard. The reſt was all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off ſuch of the branches as might be of moſt ſervice, and formed them into a ladder of ſufficient ſtrength, and ſo long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder, they all got down ſafe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms; and when he had done that he deſcended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manoeuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them ſo ſuddenly, that they fled in great conſternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdſmen and ſhepherds of the country, men of great vigour and remarkably ſwift of foot. Some of theſe he clad in heavy armour, and the reſt ſerved as reconnoitring parties and for other purpoſes of the light-armed.

The next general ſent againſt theſe gladiators, was Publius † Varinus. They firſt routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of two thouſand men. After this, Spartacus watched the motions of Coſſinius, who was appointed aſſiſtant and chief counſellor to Varinus, and was now marching againſt him with a conſiderable force. His vigilance was ſuch, that he was very near taking Coſſinius in the bath at Salenae; and though he did eſcape with

* Clodius Glaber.

† In the different editions of Livy Ephtos, it is read Varenus, Varinius, &c.

with much difficulty, Spartacus ſeized his baggage. Then he purſued his ſteps, and took his camp, having firſt killed great numbers of the Romans. Coſſinius himſelf was among the ſlain. His ſubſequent operations were equally deciſive. He beat Varinus in ſeveral engagements, and took his *lictors*, and the very horſe he rode.

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheleſs his views were moderate: he had too much underſtanding to hope the conqueſt of the Romans; and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to croſs them, and then diſmiſs his troops, that they might retire to their reſpective countries, ſome to Thrace, and ſome to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with ſucceſs, would not liſten to his propoſal. Inſtead of that, they laid Italy waſte, as they traverſed it.

It was no longer the indignity and diſgrace of this revolt that afflicted the ſenate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the conſuls in this war, as one of the moſt difficult and important they had ever had upon their hands. Gellius, one of the conſuls, having ſurpriſed a body of Germans, who were ſo raſh and ſelf-opinionated as to ſeparate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely and put them to the ſword. Lentulus, the other conſul endeavoured to ſurround Spartacus with his forces, which were very conſiderable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and ſtripped them of their baggage. He then continued his rout towards the Alps, but was oppoſed by Caſſius who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came againſt him at the head of ten thouſand men. A battle enſued, in which Caſſius was defeated, with great loſs, and ſaved himſelf not without difficulty.

No ſooner were the ſenate informed of theſe miſerable proceedings, than they expreſſed the greateſt indignation againſt the conſuls, and gave orders that they

they ſhould be ſuperſeded in the command. Craſſus was the perſon they pitched upon as the ſucceſſor, and many of the nobility ſerved under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence as from perſonal regard. He went and poſted himſelf in the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the ſame time he ſent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions; giving him ſtrict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or ſkirmiſh. Mummius, however, upon the firſt promiſing occaſion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Craſſus gave Mummius a ſevere reprimand, and new armed his men, but inſiſted withal that they ſhould find ſecurity for their keeping thoſe arms they were now entruſted with. The firſt five hundred, who had ſhewn the greateſt marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decad to death, to whoſe lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient cuſtom of military puniſhment which had been long diſuſed. Indeed, this kind of puniſhment is the greateſt mark of infamy, and being put in execution in ſight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumſtances.

After thus chaſtiſing his men, he led them againſt the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the ſea. The rebel happening to find a number of veſſels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, reſolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where at the head of two thouſand men, he thought he could eaſily rekindle the Servile war, which had but* lately been ſmothered, and which

* It was but nineteen years before, that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into agreement with him, but they had no ſooner taken his money, than they broke their engagement and ſailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the ſea, and entrenched himſelf in the peninſula of Rhegium.

When Craſſus came up, he obſerved that the nature of the place ſuggeſted what meaſures he ſhould take; in conſequence of which he determined to build a wall acroſs the iſthmus. This, he knew would at once keep his ſoldiers from idleneſs, and cut off the enemy's ſupplies. The work was great and difficult: nevertheleſs he finiſhed it beyond all expectation, in a ſhort time; drawing a trench from ſea to ſea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth and as many in depth; he built a wall alſo above it of conſiderable height and ſtrength.

Spartacus at firſt made a jeſt of the undertaking. But, when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he ſaw the wall before him, and at the ſame time was conſcious that the peninſula was exhauſted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a ſnowy and tempeſtuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood and other materials; and ſo paſſed it with the third part of his army. Craſſus now began to fear, that Spartacus, in the ſpirit of enterprize, would march immediately to Rome. But when he obſerved that a number of the enemy, upon ſome difference or other, ſeparated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his ſpirits. The water of this lake is ſaid to change in ſuch a manner, as ſometimes to be ſweet and freſh, and at other times ſo ſalt that it is impoſſible to drink it. Craſſus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the purſuit far, becauſe Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Craſſus now repented of his having written to the ſenate, *that it was neceſſary to recall Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain*; and haſtened to finiſh

finiſh the war himſelf. For he was ſenſible that the general who ſhould come to his aſſiſtance, would rob him of all the honour. He reſolved, therefore, in the firſt place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a ſeparate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Caſtus. With this view, he ſent a corps of ſix thouſand men before to ſeize an eminence which he thought would be of ſervice to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterpriſe with all imaginable ſecrecy. They obſerved his directions, and, to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the reſt of their arms. Two women, however, who were ſacrificing before the enemy's camp, diſcovered them; and they would probably have met their fate, had not Craſſus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the moſt obſtinate action in the whole war. Twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back; the reſt died in their ranks, after the braveſt exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia; and Quintus, one of Craſſus's officers, and Scropha the quaeſtor, marched after, to harraſs his rear. But, Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the moſt daſtardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quaeſtor who was wounded. This ſucceſs was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives ſuch ſpirits, that they would no longer decline a deciſive action, or be obedient to their officers; but as they were upon the road, addreſſed them with their ſwords in their hands, and inſiſted on marching back through Lucania with the utmoſt expedition, to meet the Romans and face Craſſus in the field.

This was the very thing that Craſſus deſired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching; and of the many ſpeeches to the people on occaſion of the en-

enſuing election in which it was aſſerted, that this laurel belonged to him, and that as ſoon as he made his appearance, he would by ſome deciſive ſtroke put an end to the war.

Craſſus, therefore, haſtened to give that ſtroke himſelf, and with the ſame view, encamped very near the enemy. One day when he had ordered his ſoldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both ſides to ſupport the combatants; and at laſt Spartacus, ſeeing what the caſe neceſſarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horſe, he drew his ſword and killed him, ſaying at the ſame time, "If I prove victorious, I ſhall have "horſes at command; if I am defeated, I ſhall "have no need of this." His aim was to find Craſſus, and he made his way through ſhowers of darts and heaps of the ſlain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At laſt, thoſe that ſeconded him fled. He, however, ſtill ſtood his ground, and, though ſurrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Craſſus, on this occaſion, availed himſelf of every circumſtance with which fortune favoured him; he performed every act of geneneralſhip; he expoſed his perſon in the boldeſt manner: yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brows of Pompey. Pompey met, it ſeems, thoſe who eſcaped out of the field, and put them to the ſword. In conſequence of which, he wrote to the ſenate, "that Craſſus had indeed "beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle; "but that it was he who had * cut up the war by the "roots."

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conqueſt of Sertorius

* Labore alieno magno partam gloriam verbis in ſe transmovet qui habet ſalem. TERENT.

and Spain. As for Craſſus, he did not pretend to aſk for the greater triumph; and even the leſs, which is led up on foot, under the name of an ovation, ſeemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conqueſt of fugitive ſlaves. In what reſpects this differs from the other, and whence the term *ovation* is derived, we have conſidered in the life of Marcellus.

Pompey was immediately called to the conſulſhip; and though Craſſus had intereſt enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the ſame honour, yet he ſcrupled not to ſollicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleaſure; for he was deſirous by all means to have Craſſus under an obligation to him. He therefore readily eſpouſed his cauſe, and, at laſt, when he made his ſpeech to the people, ſaid, "he was as much indebted to them "for the collegue they had given him, as for their "favour to himſelf." However, the ſame good underſtanding did not long continue; they differed about almoſt every article that came before them; and thoſe diſputes and altercations prevented their doing any thing conſiderable during their whole conſulſhip. The moſt remarkable thing was, that Craſſus offered a great ſacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at ten thouſand tables, and gave them a ſupply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the laſt aſſemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had ſpent moſt of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the roſtrum, and gave the people an account of a viſion that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," ſaid he, "appeared to me in a dream, "and commanded me to inform you in this public "manner, that you are not to ſuffer the conſuls to "lay down their office, before they are reconciled." He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, than the people inſiſted that they ſhould be reconciled. Pompey

ſtood

ſtood without making any motion towards it, but Craſſus went and offered him his hand. "I am not "aſhamed, my fellow-citizens," ſaid he, "nor do I "think it beneath me, to make the firſt advances to "Pompey, whom you diſtinguiſhed with the name of "*Great*, while he was but a beardleſs youth, and "whom you honoured with a triumph before he "was a Senator."

Theſe were the only memorable things in the conſulate of Craſſus. As for his * cenſorſhip, it paſſed without any thing worth mentioning. He made no inquiſition into the lives and manners of the ſenators; he did not review the equeſtrian order, or number the people. Lutatius Catulus, one of the beſt natured men in the world, was his collegue; and it is ſaid, that when Craſſus wanted to adopt a violent and unjuſt meaſure, I mean the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus ſtrongly oppoſed it; and hence aroſe that difference, in conſequence of which they reſigned their charge.

When the great conſpiracy of Catiline, which brought the common-wealth to the verge of deſtruction, broke out, Craſſus was ſuſpected of having ſome concern in it. Nay, there was one who named him among the conſpirators; but no one gave † credit to his information. It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuſes both Craſſus and Caeſar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in

 public,

* He was cenſor ſix years after his conſulſhip, ſixty three years before the birth of Chriſt.

† Saluſt ſays otherwiſe. He tells us it did appear incredible to ſome, but others believed it. Yet not thinking it adviſeable to exaſperate a man of ſo much power, they joined his retainers and thoſe who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny, and in ſaying the ſenate ought to exculpate him; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Craſſus himſelf among the reſt, that the informer was ſuborned by Cicero. But what end could Cicero have in accuſing a man of his conſequence, unleſs it were to alarm the ſenate and people the more with a ſenſe of their danger? And what could Craſſus propoſe to himſelf in entering into a plot to burn a city in which his property was ſo large?

public, till both thoſe great men were dead. On the other hand, the ſame Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his conſulſhip, expreſsly ſays, that Craſſus came to him one night, and put a letter in his hands, which ſhewed the reality of the plot into which they were then enquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that Craſſus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero, and would have ſhewn it in ſome act of violence, had not his ſon Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him; hence his attachment to Cicero was ſo great, that when the bill for his baniſhment was propoſed, he went into mourning, and perſuaded the reſt of the Roman youth to do the ſame. At laſt, he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

About this time, Caeſar returned from his government, to ſolicit the conſulſhip. Finding Craſſus and Pompey again at variance; he would not apply to either in particular, leſt he ſhould make the other his enemy; nor could he hope to ſucceed without the aſſiſtance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if poſſible, to effect a good underſtanding once more between them. For which purpoſe he repreſented, "That, by levelling their artillery "againſt each other, they raiſed the Ciceros, the "Catuli and the Catos; who would be nothing, "if they were once real friends, and took care "to act in concert. If that were the caſe," ſaid he, "with your united intereſts and counſels you might "carry all before you."

Theſe repreſentations had their effect, and, by joining himſelf to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the ſenate and people of Rome. Not that either Craſſus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union; but Caeſar, by the help of both, climbed to the higheſt pinnacle of power. An earneſt of this he had, in his being unanimouſly elected conſul. And, as he acquitted himſelf

ſelf in his office with great honour, they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was eſtabliſhed, as in an impregnable caſtle. For, they imagined, if they did but ſecure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might ſhare the reſt between them at their leiſure.

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Craſſus to his old diſeaſe of avarice now added a new one. The atchievements, the victories and triumphs of Caeſar, raiſed in Craſſus a paſſion for the ſame; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this reſpect, though he was ſo much ſuperior in others. He therefore never let himſelf reſt, till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the moſt dreadful calamities.

On Caeſar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the reſt Craſſus and Pompey. Theſe, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themſelves abſolute in Rome. For this purpoſe Caeſar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the reſt of the provinces and armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their ſcheme into execution, without ſuing for another conſulſhip; in which Caeſar was to aſſiſt by writing to his friends, and by ſending a number of his ſoldiers to vote in the election.

When Craſſus and Pompey returned to Rome, their deſigns were very much ſuſpected; and the general diſcourſe was, that the late interview boded no good to the common-wealth. Hereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius* aſked Pompey in full ſenate, "Whether he intended to ſollicit the conſulſhip?" To which he anſwered, "Perhaps I may, perhaps "not." And, upon their interrogating him a ſecond

* Domitius Ahenobarbus.

time, he ſaid, "If I ſollicit it, I ſhall ſollicit it for "men of honour, and not for men of a meaner prin- "ciple." As this anſwer appeared to have too much of haughtineſs and contempt, Craſſus expreſſed himſelf with more moderation, "If it be for the "public good, I ſhall ſollicit it; if not, I ſhall for- "bear."

By this ſome other candidates, and among the reſt Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as ſoon as Craſſus and Pompey declared themſelves, the reſt dropped their pretenſions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinſman Cato, "not to abandon his proſpects, but to ſtand "boldly up for the liberties of his country. As for "Pompey and Craſſus," he ſaid, "they wanted not "the conſulſhip, but abſolute power; nor was it ſo "much their aim to be chief magiſtrates at home, as "to ſeize the provinces, and to divide the armies "between them."

Cato having thus expreſſed his real ſentiments, drew Domitius almoſt forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there. For they were greatly ſurpriſed at this ſtep of Craſſus and Pompey. "Why "do they demand," ſaid they, "a ſecond conſul- "ſhip? Why together? Why not with others? "Have we not many perſons of merit ſufficient to "entitle them to be collegues with either Craſſus or "Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at theſe ſpeeches, threw off the maſk, and adopted the moſt violent meaſures. Among other outrages, they way-laid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his friends; killed the torch-bearer, and wounded many of his train, Cato among the reſt. Then they ſhut them all up together, till Craſſus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this, they confined Domitius to his houſe, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the forum and killed ſeveral who made reſiſtance.

ſiſtance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Caeſar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon caſting lots, Syria fell to Craſſus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not diſagreeable to the multitude. They choſe to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who paſſionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to ſpend moſt of his time there. As for Craſſus, as ſoon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he diſcovered the greateſt joy, and conſidered it as the principal happineſs of his life; inſomuch that even before ſtrangers and the populace he could hardly reſtrain his tranſports. To his intimate friends he opened himſelf more freely, expreſſing the moſt ſanguine hopes and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unſuitable to his age and diſpoſition: for in general he was far from being pompous or inclined to vanity. But now extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering proſpects, he conſidered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus againſt Tigranes, and of Pompey againſt Mithridates, appear only the ſports of children. His deſign was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the eaſtern ocean, and in his hopes he had already ſwallowed up the eaſt.

In the law relating to the government of Craſſus, no mention was made of a war in its neighbourhood; but all the world knew Craſſus had an eye to it. And Caeſar in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his deſign, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was going to ſet out, Ateius, one of the tribunes, threatened to ſtop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not without indignation think of his going to begin hoſtilities againſt a people who had done them no injury, and were in fact their allies. Craſſus,

alarmed at this, desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey and the veneration the populace had for him: and on this occasion, though many were prepared to withstand Crassus and to raise a clamour against him, yet when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropt their resentment, and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprize. Then he ordered one of his officers to seize him. But, the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate, and placed there a censer with fire in it. At the approach of Crassus, he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttered the most horrid imprecations, invoking at the same time certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say, these mysterious and ancient * imprecations have such power, that the object of them never escapes their effect; nay, they add, that the person who uses them is sure to be unhappy; so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus pursuing his journey, came to Brundusium; and though the winter-storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his rout by land through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Crassus laughed and said, "you "begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day." The king laughed in his turn, and answered, "you "do

* ——— Dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victima. Hor.

" do not ſet out very early in the morning againſt " the Parthians." Craſſus, indeed, then was above * ſixty years of age, and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs proſpered at firſt according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with eaſe, and his army paſſed it without oppoſition. Many cities in Meſopotamia voluntarily received him; and one only ſtood upon its defence. The prince who governed it was named Apollonius. The Romans having loſt about a hundred men before it, Craſſus marched againſt it with all his forces, took it by aſſault, plundered it of every thing valuable, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. The Greeks call that city † Zenodotia. Craſſus, upon taking it, ſuffered his army to ſalute him *imperator*. A thing which reflected no ſmall diſgrace upon him: it ſhewed the meanneſs of his ſpirit, and his deſpair of effecting any thing conſiderable, when he valued himſelf upon ſuch a trifling acquiſition.

After he had garriſoned the towns that had ſubmitted, with ſeven thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, he returned into Syria, to winter. There he was joined by his ſon, whom Caeſar had ſent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and at the head of a thouſand ſelect horſe.

Among the many errors which Craſſus committed in this war, the firſt, and none of the leaſt, was his returning ſo ſoon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and ſtrengthened himſelf with the acceſſion of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians: inſtead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themſelves. Beſides, his occupations in Syria were greatly cenſured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Inſtead of examining into the arms of his ſoldiers, keeping them in exerciſe, and improving their

* Craſſus ſet out upon this expedition in the year of Rome 699.
† Zenodotia in the province of Oſrhoëne.

their ſtrength and activity by proper rewards, he was enquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treaſures in the temple of the goddeſs of * Hierapolis. And though he fixed the quotas of troops which the ſtates and principalities were to furniſh, he let them off again for a ſum of money; which expoſed him to the contempt of thoſe whom he excuſed.

The firſt ſign of his future fortune came from this very goddeſs, whom ſome call Venus, ſome Juno, others *Nature*, or that great principle which produces all things out of moiſture, and inſtructs mankind in the knowledge of every thing that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Craſſus ſtumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter-quarters, when ambaſſadors came from Arſaces, and addreſſed him in this ſhort ſpeech. "If this army "was ſent againſt the Parthians by the Roman peo-"ple, that people had nothing to expect but perpe-"tual war and enmity irreconcileable. But, if Craſ-"ſus, againſt the inclinations of his country, (which "they were informed was the caſe) to gratify his "own avarice, had undertaken this war, and invaded "one of the Parthian provinces, Arſaces will act "with more moderation. He will take compaſſion "on Craſſus's age, and let the Romans go, though "in fact he conſiders them rather as in priſon than "in garriſon." To this, Craſſus made no return but a rhodomontade: he ſaid, "he would give "them his anſwer at Seleucia." Upon which, Vagiſes, the oldeſt of the ambaſſadors, laughed; and, turning

* About twenty miles from the Euphrates there was a city known by the ſeveral names of Bambyce, Edeſſa and Hierapolis. By the Syrians it was called Magog. The goddeſs Atargatis was worſhiped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richeſt in the world.

turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "Craſſus, "here will hair grow, before thou wilt ſee Seleucia."

The ambaſſadors then returned to their king Orodes,* and told him he muſt prepare for war. Mean time, ſome Romans eſcaped with difficulty from the cities they garriſoned in Meſopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. "They ſaid, they had been eye-witneſſes to their "immenſe numbers, and to their dreadful manner of "fighting, when they attacked the towns." And, as it is uſual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "It is impoſſible either to eſcape them when "they purſue, or to take them when they fly. They "have a new and ſtrange ſort of arrows, which are "ſwifter than lightning, and reach their mark be"fore you can ſee they are diſcharged; nor are they "leſs fatal in their effect, than ſwift in their courſe. "The offenſive arms of their cavalry pierce through "every thing, and the defenſive arms are ſo well "tempered that nothing can pierce them."

The Roman ſoldiers were ſtruck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and conſequently that the hardeſt part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of purſuing men who would never ſtand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to look in the face, which they had not thought of: inſomuch that ſeveral of the principal officers

* Here the king of Parthia is called Orodes, who before was called Arſaces. Arſaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the ſon of Phraates the ſecond, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this he deſervedly died the ſame kind of death.

officers were of opinion that Craſſus ought to ſtop, and call a council to conſider whether new meaſures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Caſſius the quæſtor. Beſides, the ſooth-ſayers whiſpered, that the ſacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the ſigns appeared always inauſpicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but thoſe who were for haſtening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of * Artavaſdes king of Armenia. That prince came with ſix thouſand horſe, which he ſaid were only his body-guard. He promiſed Craſſus ten thouſand more, armed at all points, and thirty thouſand foot, all to be maintained at his own expence. At the ſame time, he adviſed him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," ſaid he, "you will not only have plenty of proviſi-"ons, which I ſhall take care to ſupply you with; "but your march will be ſafe, as it will lie along "a chain of mountains and a country almoſt im-"practicable for cavalry, in which the Parthian "ſtrength conſiſts." Craſſus received his tender of ſervice and his noble offer of ſuccours but coldly; and ſaid, "He ſhould march through Meſopota-"mia, where he had left a number of brave Ro-"mans." Upon this, the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Craſſus was paſſing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful burſts of thunder, and lightenings flamed in the face of his troops. At the ſame time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and deſtroyed great part of his bridge. The place which he had marked out for a camp, was alſo twice ſtruck with lightening. One of the general's war-horſes, richly capariſoned, running

* In the text he is here called Artabaſes; but, as Plutarch calls him Artavaſdes every where afterwards, we thought it proper to put it ſo here.

running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was ſeen no more. And it is ſaid, when the foremoſt eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Beſides theſe ill tokens, it happened that when the ſoldiers had their proviſions diſtributed, after they had croſſed the river, they were firſt ſerved with lentiles and ſalt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a ſpeech of Craſſus to the army, an expreſſion eſcaped him, which ſtruck them all with horror. He ſaid, "he had "broke down the bridge, that not one of them "might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expreſſion, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obſtinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that in the ſacrifice offered for the illuſtration of the army, the *aruſpex* having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All that attended the ceremony were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; but he only ſaid with a ſmile, "See what it is to be old! "My ſword, however, ſhall not ſlip out of my hands "in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began his march along the ſide of Euphrates, with ſeven legions, near four thouſand horſe, and almoſt as many of the light-armed. He had not gone far before ſome of his ſcouts returned, and told him, they had not found ſo much as one man in their excurſions; but that there were many veſtiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled as if they had been purſued.

Craſſus now began to be more ſanguine in his hopes, and the ſoldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a ſuppoſition that they durſt not ſtand an encounter. Nevertheleſs, Caſſius addreſſed himſelf to the general again, and adviſed him "to ſecure his troops in "ſome fortified town, till he ſhould have ſome account "of the enemy that might be depended upon. If "he did not chuſe that, he deſired him to keep

"along

" along the river till he reached Seleucia. For by " this means he would be conſtantly ſupplied with " proviſions from the veſſels that would follow his " camp; and the river preventing his being ſur- " rounded, he would always have it in his power to " fight upon equal terms."

While Craſſus was weighing theſe counſels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief, named * Ariamnes. This artful and perfidious man was the principal inſtrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Craſſus. Some of his officers who had ſerved under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favour, and that in conſequence he paſſed for a well-wiſher to the Romans. But now gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a ſcheme to draw Craſſus from the river and the higher grounds, into an immenſe plain, where he might eaſily be ſurrounded. For the enemy thought of nothing leſs, than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addreſſing himſelf to Craſſus, at firſt launched out into the praiſes of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful ſpeaker. Then he expreſſed his admiration of ſo fine an army, but withal took occaſion to blame Craſſus for his delays, and the time he ſpent in preparing; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required againſt a people, who had long been determined to retire with their moſt valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. " Or ſuppoſe you " have to fight," ſaid he, you ought to haſten to " the encounter, before the king recover his ſpirits, " and collect all his forces. At preſent he has only " ſent out Surena and Sillaces to amuſe you, and to " prevent your purſuit of himſelf. For his part, he " will take care not to appear in the field."

This

* Appian and Dion Caſſius call him Acbarus or Agbarus.

This ſtory was falſe in every circumſtance. For Orodes had divided his army into two parts; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreak his revenge upon Artavaſdes; Surena was left with the other, to make head againſt the Romans. Not that the king (as ſome will have it) had any contempt for the Romans: for Craſſus, one of the moſt powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagoniſt whom he ſhould deſpiſe, and think it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavaſdes, and lay waſte Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable, it was his apprehenſions of danger which made him keep at a diſtance and watch the riſing event; in order to which he ſent Surena before him, to make trial of the enemy's ſtrength and to amuſe them with his ſtratagems. For Surena was no ordinary perſon; but in fortune, family and honour, the firſt after the king; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in ſize and beauty, ſuperior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excurſion into the country, he had a thouſand camels to carry his baggage, and two hundred carriages for his concubines. He was attended by a thouſand heavy-armed horſe, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vaſſals and ſlaves made up a body of cavalry little leſs than ten thouſand. He had the hereditary privilege in his family, to put the diadem upon the king's head, when he was crowned. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he reſtored him; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the firſt to ſcale the wall, and beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his diſcernment was ſtrong, and his counſel eſteemed the beſt. Theſe were the talents by which he overthrew Craſſus, who laid himſelf open to his arts, firſt by a too ſanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depreſſion under misfortunes.

When

When Craſſus had liſtened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was ſmooth and eaſy at firſt; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by reaſon of the deep ſands in which he hade to wade, and the ſight of a vaſt deſart without wood or water, which afforded no proſpect of repoſe or hope of refreſhment. So that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirſt and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortleſs and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor ſtream to be ſeen, no hill to ſhelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immenſe ſea of ſand ſurrounding the whole army.

Theſe things gave them ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect they were betrayed; but when the envoys of Artavaſdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Craſſus, "That Orodes had invaded "his kingdom with a great army, ſo that now he "could ſend the Romans no ſuccours. Therefore "he adviſed them to march towards Armenia, where "with their united forces they might give Orodes "battle. If Craſſus did not reliſh this advice, he "conjured him at leaſt never to encamp upon any "ground favourable to the cavalry, but to keep "cloſe to the mountains." Craſſus in his reſentment and infatuation would ſend no anſwer in "writing; he only ſaid, he was not at leiſure now "to think of the Armenians, but by and by he "would come and chaſtiſe their king for his perfidiouſneſs." Caſſius was again extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonſtrances to the general, who was already offended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, however, to the Barbarian in private, in ſuch terms as theſe, "O "thou vileſt of impoſtors, what malevolent daemon "has brought thee amongſt us? By what potions, "by what enchantments, haſt thou prevailed upon "Craſſus to pour his army into this vaſt, this amazing

"zing deſart; a march more fit for a Numidian rob-
"ber than for a Roman general? The Barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himſelf to all occaſions, humbled himſelf to Caſſius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the ſoldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them againſt their fatigues, and made uſe of ſeveral taunting expreſſions to them, "What?" ſaid he, "do you imagine that "you are marching through Campania? Do you "expect the fountains, the ſtreams, the ſhades, the "baths and houſes of refreſhment you met with "there? And will you never remember that you "are traverſing the barren confines of the Arabians "and Aſſyrians?" Thus the traitor admoniſhed, or rather inſulted the Romans, and got off at laſt before his impoſture was diſcovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge; he even perſuaded him then, that he was going upon ſome ſcheme to put the enemy in diſorder.

It it ſaid, that Craſſus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, ſuch as the Roman generals uſed to wear, but in a black one; and when he perceived his miſtake, he went and changed it. Some of the ſtandards too were ſo rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greateſt efforts. Craſſus only laughed at the omen, and haſtened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Mean time the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with an account that their comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had eſcaped with great difficulty. At the ſame time they aſſured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces and in the higheſt ſpirits.

This intelligence ſpread great diſmay among the troops, and Craſſus was the moſt terrified of all. In his confuſion he had ſcarce underſtanding enough about him to draw up his army properly. At firſt, agreeably to the opinion of Caſſius, he extended

the front of his infantry ſo as to occupy a great ſpace of ground, to prevent their being ſurrounded, and diſtributed the cavalry in the wings. But ſoon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a cloſe ſquare, and made a front every way, each front conſiſting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had its troop of horſe allotted it, that no part might remain unſupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal ſecurity to the charge. One of the wings was given to Caſſius, the other to young Craſſus, and the general placed himſelf in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Baliſſus, which in itſelf was not conſiderable, but the ſight of it gave great pleaſure to the ſoldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirſt, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and ſandy deſart. Moſt of the officers were of opinion that they ought to paſs the night there, and after having got the beſt intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advance againſt them at break of day. But Craſſus, carried away by the eagerneſs of his ſon, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded thoſe who wanted refreſhment, to take it as they ſtood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leiſurely and with proper pauſes, as is neceſſary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace 'till they came in ſight of the enemy, who appeared neither ſo numerous nor ſo formidable as they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and to prevent their being diſcovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with ſkins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the ſignal, the field reſounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the Parthians do not excite their men to action with

with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow inſtruments covered with leather, and ſurrounded with braſs bells which they beat continually. The ſound is deep and diſmal, ſomething between the howling of wild beaſts and the craſhing of thunder; and it was from ſage reflection they had adopted it, having obſerved, that of all the ſenſes, that of hearing ſooneſt diſturbs the mind, agitates the paſſions, and unhinges the underſtanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noiſe, the Parthians ſuddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breaſt-plates and their helmets of Margian ſteel poliſhed to the greateſt perfection. Their cavalry too, compleatly armed in braſs and ſteel, ſhed a luſtre no leſs ſtriking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promiſe ſuch courage as he was poſſeſſed of. For he was dreſt in the faſhion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the reſt of the Parthians wore their hair in great diſorder, like the Scythians, to make themſelves look more terrible.

At firſt, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through the foremoſt ranks; but when they ſaw the depth of the Roman battalions, the cloſeneſs of their order, and the firmneſs of their ſtanding, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and diſperſing, wheeled about and ſurrounded the Romans. At that inſtant Craſſus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge. But they had not gone far, before they were ſaluted with a ſhower of arrows, which came with ſuch force and did ſo much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of diſorder and conſternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld the force and ſtrength of the arrows, againſt which no armour was proof, and whoſe keenneſs no-

thing could reſiſt. The Parthians now ſeparated, and began to exerciſe their artillery upon the Romans on all ſides at a conſiderable diſtance; not needing to take any exact aim, by reaſon of the cloſeneſs and depth of the ſquare in which their adverſaries were drawn up. Their bows were large and ſtrong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; the force they went with was conſequently very great, and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful ſituation. If they ſtood ſtill, they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no repriſals, and yet were ſure to meet their fate. For the Parthians ſhoot as they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, becauſe they ſave themſelves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, eſcape the diſgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would ſpend all their arrows and quit the combat, or elſe advance hand to hand, they bore their diſtreſſed with patience. But as ſoon as it was perceived, that behind the enemy there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the firſt ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were ſupplied, Craſſus ſeeing no end of his ſufferings, was greatly diſtreſſed. The ſtep he took, was, to ſend orders to his ſon to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if poſſible, before he was quite ſurrounded: for, it was principally againſt him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this, the young man took thirteen hundred horſe, of which thoſe he had from Caeſar made a thouſand, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, and wheeled about, to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came againſt them in ſuch good-order, which ſome ſay was the caſe; or whether

ther they wanted to draw young Craſſus as far as they poſſibly could from his father, turned their backs and fled.* The young man cried out, *They dare not ſtand us*, and followed at full ſpeed. So did Cenſorinus and † Megabacchus; the latter a man noted for his ſtrength and courage, and the former a perſon of ſenatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Craſſus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and ſuch was the alacrity and ſpirit of hope with which the infantry were inſpired, that they were not left behind: for they imagined, they were only purſuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans, upon this, made a ſtand, ſuppoſing the enemy would come to cloſe quarters with them, becauſe their number was but ſmall. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy-armed cavalry oppoſite their adverſaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the ſand and duſt in ſuch a manner, that the Romans could ſcarce either ſee or ſpeak for the clouds of it. Beſides, the latter were drawn up in ſo ſmall a compaſs, and preſſed ſo cloſe upon each other, that they were a very fair mark for the enemy. Their death too was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows ſticking in them, and before they died, endeavoured to

* It was their common method, not to ſtand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occaſion required, they knew the advantage they had in the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, and in the excellence of their archers.

† It is not eaſy to ſay what Roman name Megabacchus could be the corruption of. Xylander tells us he found in an old tranſlation *Cnei. Plancus*. Probably, that tranſlator might have the authority of ſome manuſcript.

pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and ſinews; an effort that ſerved only to enlarge their wounds, and add to their torture.

Many died in this miſerable manner, and thoſe who ſurvived were not fit for action. When * Publius deſired them to attack the heavy-armed cavalry, they ſhewed him their hands nailed to their ſhields, and their feet faſtened to the ground, ſo that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the diſpute was by no means upon an equality, either in reſpect of attack or defence. For his men had only weak and ſhort javelins to attempt the Parthian cuiraſſes which were made either of raw hides or ſteel; while the enemy's ſtrong pikes could eaſily make an impreſſion upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. Theſe were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he worked wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them, pulled them from their horſes, and threw them on the ground, where they could ſcarce ſtir by reaſon of the weight of their armour. Many of them even quitted their own horſes, and getting under thoſe of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly; upon which, the horſes, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at laſt fell down dead upon both. What went hardeſt againſt the Gauls was heat and thirſt, for they had not been accuſtomed to either. And they had loſt moſt of their horſes by advancing furiouſly againſt the enemy's pikes.

They had now no reſource, but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Craſſus, who was much wounded. But happening to ſee a hill of ſand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horſes in the middle, they locked their ſhields

* Young Craſſus.

ſhields together all round, imagining that would prove the beſt defence againſt the barbarians. It happened, however, quite otherwiſe. While they were upon plain ground, the foremoſt ranks afforded ſome ſhelter to thoſe behind; but upon an eminence, the unevenneſs of the ground ſhewed one above another, and thoſe behind higher than thoſe before, ſo that there was no chance for any of them to eſcape: they fell promiſcuouſly, lamenting their inglorious fate and the impoſſibility of exerting themſelves to the laſt.

Young Craſſus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had ſettled in that country in the town of Carnae. Theſe adviſed him to retire with them, and to make his eſcape to Iſchnae, a city which had adopted the Roman intereſts, and was at no great diſtance. But he anſwered, "There was no death, however dreadful, the "fear of which could make him leave ſo many brave "men dying for his ſake." At the ſame time, he deſired them to ſave themſelves, and then embraced and diſmiſſed them. As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not uſe it, he offered his ſide to his armour bearer, and ordered him to ſtrike the blow. Cenſorinus is ſaid to have died in the ſame manner. As for Megabacchus, he diſpatched himſelf with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The reſt fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had defended themſelves gallantly to the laſt. The enemy did not make above five hundred priſoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Craſſus, they marched with it to his father, whoſe affairs were in this poſture. After he had ordered his ſon to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans purſued them with equal vivacity. He perceived alſo that on his ſide the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble; for the greateſt part of

them were gone after his ſon. Hereupon, he recovered his ſpirits in ſome degree, and drew his forces back to ſome higher ground, expecting every moment his ſon's return from the purſuit.

Publius had ſent ſeveral meſſengers to inform him of his danger; but the firſt had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces; and the laſt having eſcaped with great difficulty, told him, his ſon was loſt, if he had not large and immediate ſuccours. Craſſus was ſo diſtracted by different paſſions, that he could not form any rational ſcheme. On the one hand, he was afraid of ſacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preſervation of his ſon; but at laſt he reſolved to march to his aſſiſtance.

Mean time, the enemy advanced with loud ſhouts and ſongs of victory, which made them appear more terrible; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave the notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius upon a ſpear, demanded in the moſt contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man. "For," ſaid they, "it is not poſſible that ſo brave and gallant a "youth ſhould be the ſon of Craſſus, the greateſt "daſtard and the meaneſt wretch in the world."

This ſpectacle broke the ſpirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Inſtead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremor which ran through the whole army. Nevertheleſs, Craſſus, on this melancholy occaſion, behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever ſhewn before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loſs is mine. The fortunes and "glory of Rome ſtand ſafe and undiminiſhed in "you. If you have any pity for me, who am be-"reaved of the beſt of ſons, ſhew it in your reſent-"ment againſt the enemy. Put an end to their "triumph;

" triumph; avenge their cruelty. Be not aſtoniſhed " at this loſs; they muſt always have ſomething to " ſuffer, who aſpire to great things. Lucullus did " not pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, " without ſome expence of blood. Our anceſtors " loſt a thouſand ſhips before they reduced Sicily, " and many great officers and generals in Italy; " but no previous loſs prevented their ſubduing the " conquerors. For it was not by her good fortune, " but by the perſeverance and fortitude with which " ſhe combated adverſity, that Rome has riſen to " her preſent height of power?"

Craſſus though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many liſten to him with pleaſure. He was ſenſible their depreſſion ſtill continued, when he ordered them to ſhout for the battle; for their ſhout was feeble, languid and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and ſtrong. When the attack began, the lighted-armed cavalry taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows; while the heavy-armed charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow ſpace. Some, indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the reſolution of deſpair, but did not do much execution. All the advantage they had, was, that they were ſpeedily diſpatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's ſtrong pikes, which they puſhed with ſuch violence, that they often pierced through two men at once *

The fight continued in this manner all day; and when the barbarians came to retire, they ſaid, " They would give Craſſus one night to bewail his " ſon; if he did not in the mean time conſider better, " and rather chuſe to go and ſurrender himſelf to " Arſaces, than be carried." Then they ſat down near

* There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the ſame mode of fighting at this day.

near the Roman army, and paſſed the night in great ſatisfaction, hoping to finiſh the affair the next day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of which were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themſelves in the night into that boundleſs plain. They found a great objection too, againſt retiring, in the wounded; who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they were left behind.

As for Craſſus, though they believed him the cauſe of all their miſeries, they wanted him to make his appearance and ſpeak to them. But he had covered his head, choſen darkneſs for his companion, and ſtretched himſelf upon the ground. A ſad example to the vulgar of the inſtability of fortune; and to men of deeper thought, of the effects of raſhneſs and ill placed ambition. Not contented with being the firſt and greateſt among many millions of men, he had conſidered himſelf in a mean light, becauſe there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Caſſius, endeavoured to raiſe him from the ground and conſole him, but found that he gave himſelf entirely up to deſpair. They then, by their own authority, ſummoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was reſolved that they ſhould retire. Accordingly they began to do ſo without ſound of trumpet, and ſilently enough at firſt. But when the ſick and wounded perceived that they were going to be deſerted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confuſion and diſorder. Still greater terrors ſeized them as they proceeded, the foremoſt troops imagining that thoſe behind were enemies. They often miſſed their way, often ſtopped to put themſelves in ſome order, or to take ſome of the

the wounded off the beaſts of burthen, and put others on. By theſe things they loſt a great deal of time; inſomuch that Igniatius only, who made the beſt of his way with three hundred horſe, arrived at Carrae about midnight. He ſaluted the guatds in latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bade them go and tell Copinius who commanded there, that Craſſus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himſelf farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as faſt as poſſible to Zeugma; by which means he ſaved himſelf and his troop, but at the ſame time was much blamed for deſerting his general.

However, Craſſus found his advantage in the hint given to Copinius. That officer conſidering that the hurry and confuſion with which the meſſage was delivered, betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and as ſoon as he was appriſed that Craſſus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not purſue them; but at break of day they fell upon thoſe that were left in the camp, and diſpatched them, to the number of four thouſand. The cavalry alſo picked up many others who were ſtraggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Varguntinus, had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, and was found next morning poſted upon a hill. The barbarians ſurrounded their little corps, and killed them all, except twenty men. Theſe made their way through the enemy, ſword in hand, who, let them paſs, and they arrived ſafe at Carrae.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Craſſus with the beſt of his officers and troops had eſcaped, and that thoſe who had retired into Carrae, were only a mixt multitude not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had loſt the fruits of his victory; but not being abſolutely certain, he wanted

wanted better information, in order to determine whether he ſhould beſiege Carrae, or purſue Craſſus, wherever he might have fled. For this purpoſe he diſpatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Craſſus or Caſſius in latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As ſoon as the buſineſs of the interpreter was made known to Craſſus, he accepted the propoſal. And not long after, certain Arabians arrived from the ſame quarter, who knew Craſſus and Caſſius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. Theſe ſeeing Caſſius upon the walls, told him, "Surena was ready "to conclude a peace with them, on condition they "would be upon terms of friendſhip with the king "his maſter, and give up Meſopotamia: for he "thought this more advantageous to both, than "coming to extremities." Caſſius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Craſſus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be beſieged, led his Parthians againſt them the next day. Theſe barbarians treated them with great inſolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Craſſus and Caſſius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themſelves ſo impoſed upon, told Craſſus, he muſt give up his diſtant and vain hopes of ſuccours from the Armenians, and reſolve upon flight. This reſolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carrae till the moment it was put in execution. But Craſſus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the moſt perfidious amongſt them, whom he alſo choſe for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learnt every ſtep that was taken.

As it was not their cuſtom, nor conſequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was

in

in the night that Craſſus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, and at laſt entangled them among deep marſhes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were ſeveral who conjectured from this ſhifting and turning, that Andromachus had ſome ill deſign, and therefore refuſed to follow him any farther. As for Caſſius, he returned to Carrae; and when his guides, who were Arabians, adviſed him to wait till the moon had paſſed the ſcorpion, he anſwered, "I am "more afraid of the ſagittary."* Then making the beſt of his way, he got into Aſſyria with five hundred horſe. Others finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly ſecure, before it was light. Theſe, about five thouſand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

Mean time day overtook Craſſus, while through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering in bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very ſmall number of horſe, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labour and difficulty; but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, all he could do, was, to retire to a hill, not ſo ſecure againſt cavalry as Sinnaca, but ſituated under thoſe mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could ſee the danger Craſſus was in, and he immediately ran down with a ſmall band to his aſſiſtance. Upon this, the reſt reproaching themſelves for ſtaying behind, deſcended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Craſſus in the midſt of them, and fencing him

* Alluding to the Parthian archers.

him with their ſhields, boldly declared, that no Parthian arrow ſhould touch their general, while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were leſs vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on, and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a ſtratagem to get Craſſus into his hands. He diſmiſſed ſome of his priſoners, after they had heard the converſation of the Parthian ſoldiers, who had been inſtructed to ſay, that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendſhip and alliance by his generous treatment of Craſſus. After this manoeuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unſtrung his bow, and offering his hand, invited Craſſus to an agreement. He ſaid, "the king had "hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs "of his power, but now he would with pleaſure "ſhew his moderation and clemency, in coming to "terms with the Romans, and ſuffering them to "depart in peace."

The troops received this propoſal of Surena with joy. But Craſſus, whoſe errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this ſudden change in their behaviour a very ſuſpicious circumſtance, did not accept the overture, but ſtood deliberating. Hereupon, the ſoldiers raiſed a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to inſults and reproaches, telling him, "he was very willing to expoſe them to the wea-"pons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet "them himſelf, when they had laid down their arms, "and wanted only a friendly conference."

At firſt he had recourſe to intreaties, and repreſented, that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the night gain the mountains and rocks which would be inacceſſible to cavalry.

cavalry. At the ſame time he pointed to the way, and begged of them not to forego the hopes of ſafety when they had it ſo near. But when he found they received his addreſs with anger, and claſhing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a moment to ſpeak theſe few words, "You, Octavius, and you, "Petronius, and all you Roman officers that are "preſent, are witneſſes of the neceſſity I am under "to take this ſtep, and conſcious of the diſhonour "and violence I ſuffer. But when you are ſafe, pray "tell the world that I was deceived by the enemy, "and not that I was abandoned by my countrymen."

However, Octavius and Petronius would not ſtay behind; they deſcended the hill with him. His lictors too would have followed, but he ſent them back. The firſt perſons that met him, on the part of the Barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They diſmounted and made Craſſus a low reverence, and addreſſing him in Greek, deſired he would ſend ſome of his people to ſee that Surena and his company came unarmed and without any weapons concealed about them. Craſſus anſwered, "that if "his life had been of any account with him, he "ſhould not have truſted himſelf in their hands." Nevertheleſs, he ſent two brothers of the name of Roſcius before him, to enquire upon what footing, and how many of each ſide were to meet. Surena detained thoſe meſſengers, and advanced in perſon with his principal officers on horſeback. "What is this," ſaid he, I behold? "A Roman general on foot, "when we are on horſeback?" Then he ordered a horſe to be brought for him. But Craſſus anſwered, "There was no error on either ſide, ſince each came "to treat after the manner of his country." "Then," ſaid Surena, "from this moment there ſhall be peace "and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans; "but the treaty muſt be ſigned upon the banks of "the

" the Euphrates: for you Romans remember your " agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand; and when Craſſus would have ſent for a horſe, he told him, " there was no need; the king would " ſupply him with one." At the ſame time a horſe was brought with furniture of gold, and the equerries having mounted Craſſus, began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle; in which he was followed by Petronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the reſt of the Romans who attended, endeavoured to ſtop the horſe, and to draw off thoſe who preſt upon Craſſus on each ſide. A ſcuffle and tumult enſued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his ſword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming behind Octavius, diſpatched him. Petronius who had no arms to defend him, received a ſtroke on his breaſt-plate, but leaped from his horſe unwounded. Craſſus was killed by a Parthian named * Pomaxaethres: though ſome ſay, another diſpatched him, and Pomaxaethres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed, all theſe circumſtances muſt be rather from conjecture than knowledge. For part of thoſe who attended, were ſlain in attempting to defend Craſſus, and the reſt had run up the hill on the firſt alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addreſſed themſelves to the troops at the top. They told them, Craſſus had met with the reward his injuſtice deſerved; but, as for them, Surena deſired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promiſe ſome went down and ſurrendered themſelves. Others attempted to get off in the night; but very few of thoſe eſcaped. The reſt were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to the ſword. It is ſaid, that in all there were twenty thouſand killed, and ten thouſand made priſoners.

Surena

* Appian calls him Maxaethres, and in ſome copies of Plutarch he is called Axathres.

Surena ſent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia; notwithſtanding which he ordered his meſſengers to give it out at Seleucia, that he was bringing Craſſus alive. Purſuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock proceſſion, which by way of ridicule he called triumph. Caius Pacianus, who, of all the priſoners, moſt reſembled Craſſus, was dreſt in a rich robe in the Parthian faſhion, and inſtructed to anſwer to the name of Craſſus and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horſeback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were ſuſpended empty purſes, and on the axes heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtezans with muſic, ſinging ſcurrilous and farcical ſongs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Craſſus.

Theſe things were to amuſe the populace. But after the farce was over, Surena aſſembled the ſenate of Seleucia, and produced the obſcene books of Ariſtides called *Mileſiacs*. Nor was this a groundleſs invention to blacken the Romans. For the books being really found in the baggage of Ruſtius, * gave Surena an excellent opportunity to ſay many ſharp and ſatyrical things of the Romans, who even in time of war could not refrain from ſuch libidinous actions and abominable books.

This ſcene put the Seleucians in mind of the wiſe remark of Æſop. They ſaw Surena had put the Mileſian obſcenities in the forepart of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian † ſybaris, with a long train of carriages full of harlots; inſomuch that his army reſembled the ſerpents called *Scytalae*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it preſented nothing but pikes, artillery and war-horſes; while the tail ridiculouſly enough exhibited proſtitutes, muſical inſtruments,

* One of the Bodleian manuſcripts has it Roſcius.

† Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for it's luxury and effeminacy.

ments, and nights ſpent in ſinging and riot with thoſe women. Ruſtius undoubtedly was to blame, but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to cenſure the *Mileſiacs*, when many of the Arſacidæ who filled the throne, were ſons of Mileſian or Ionian courtezans.

During theſe tranſactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavaſdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's ſiſter and his ſon Pacorus. On this occaſion they freely went to each others entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were preſented. For Orodes was not unverſed in the Grecian literature; and Artavaſdes had written tragedies himſelf, as well as orations and hiſtories, ſome of which are ſtill extant. In one of theſe entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Craſſus was brought to the door. Jaſon, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearſing the Bacchae of Euripides, and in the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expreſſing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the apartment proſtrated himſelf before the king, and laid the head of Craſſus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jaſon gave one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and puting on that of Agave, with the frantic air and all the enthuſiaſm of a bacchanal ſung that part, where Agave preſents the head of Pentheus upon her Thyrſus, fancying it to be that of a young lion---

Well are our toils repay'd: On yonder mountain
We pierc'd the lordly ſavage.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on.---

The Chorus aſks, *Who gave the glorious blow?*
Agave anſwers, *Mine, mine is the prize.*

Pomax-

Pomaxaethres, who was ſitting at the table, upon hearing this, ſtarted up, and would have taken the head from Jaſon, inſiſting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxaethres the preſents uſual on ſuch occaſions, and rewarded Jaſon with a talent. The expedition of Craſſus was a real tragedy, and ſuch was the *exodium*, * or farce after it.

However, the divine juſtice puniſhed Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death ſoon after. And that prince, having loſt his ſon Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languiſhing diſorder which turned to a dropſy. His ſecond ſon Phraates took the opportunity to give him aconite. But finding the poiſon worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the diſeaſe with it, he took a ſhorter method, and ſtrangled him with his own hands. †

* Exodium, in its original ſenſe, ſignified the unravelling of the plot, the cataſtrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that ſenſe among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light ſatirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to thoſe pieces.

† There have been more execrable characters, but there is not perhaps in the hiſtory of mankind one more contemptible than that of Craſſus. His ruling paſſion was the moſt ſordid luſt of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was ſubſervient to this. If at any time he gave into public munificence, it was with him no more than a ſpecies of commerce. By thus treating the people he was laying out his money in the purchaſe of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the tranſports he diſcovered ſprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman Eagles over the Eaſt. They were nothing more than the joy of a miſer, when he ſtumbles upon a hidden treaſure. Dazzled with the proſpect of Barbarian gold, he graſped with eagerneſs a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarraſſed by the ſlighteſt difficulties in his military operations, and, where his obſtinacy would permit him, taking his meaſures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman ſquadrons ſtanding, by his diſpoſitions, as a mark

a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offenſive or the defenſive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before ſpent ſo much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was ſo much dreaded. It was therefore the firſt buſineſs of the Roman general to avoid thoſe countries which might give them any advantage in the equeſtrian action. But the hot ſcent of Eaſtern treaſure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians, and to arrive at this the neareſt way, he ſacrificed the lives of thirty thouſand Romans.

NICIAS

NICIAS *and* CRASSUS, *compared.*

ONE of the firſt things that occurs in this compariſon, is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a leſs exceptionable manner than Craſſus. The working of mines, indeed, does not ſeem very ſuitable to a man of Nicias's character, where the perſons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, ſome of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholeſome air put an end to their being. But it is comparatively an honourable purſuit, when put in parallel with getting an eſtate by the confiſcations of Sylla, or by buying houſes in the midſt of fires. Yet Craſſus dealt as openly in theſe things as he did in agriculture and uſury. As to the other matters which he was cenſured for, and which he denied, namely his making money of his vote in the ſenate, his extorting it from the allies, his overreaching ſilly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of ill men; nothing like theſe things was ever imputed by ſlander herſelf to Nicias. As to his waſting his money upon thoſe who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumſtance which expoſed him to ridicule; and unworthy, perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Ariſtides; but neceſſary for him, who had

a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus the orator afterwards made a merit of to the people: when cenſured for having bought off one of theſe trading informers, "I rejoice" ſaid he, "that "after having been ſo long employed in the admini- "ſtration, I am diſcovered to have given money, "and not taken it."

As to their expences, Nicias appears to have been more public-ſpirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were ſo many proofs of noble and generous ſentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and indeed his whole eſtate, amounted only to a ſmall part of what Craſſus expended at once, in entertaining ſo many myriads of men, and ſupplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very ſtrange to me, if there ſhould be any one who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconſiſtency of character; particularly when he ſees men laying out that money in an honourable manner, which they have got diſhonourably. So much with regard to their riches.

If we conſider their behaviour in the adminiſtration, we ſhall not find in Nicias any inſtance of cunning, injuſtice, violence or effrontery. On the contrary, he ſuffered Alcibiades to impoſe upon him, and he was modeſt or rather timid in his applications to the people. Whereas Craſſus in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again if his intereſt required it, is juſtly accuſed of an illiberal duplicity. Nor could he deny that he uſed violence to attain the conſulſhip, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the aſſembly that was held for the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded, and four citizens killed. Nay, Craſſus himſelf ſtruck a ſenator named Lucius Annalius who oppoſed his meaſures, upon the face with his fiſt (a circumſtance which eſcaped us in his life)

life) and drove him out of the forum covered with blood.

But if Craſſus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too timid. His poltroonery and mean ſubmiſſion to the moſt abandoned perſons in the ſtate, deſerves the greateſt reproach. Beſides, Craſſus ſhewed ſome magnanimity and dignity of ſentiment, in contending, not with ſuch wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Caeſar, and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he maintained the diſpute well with them for power, and in the high honour of the cenſorſhip he was even beyond Pompey. For he who wants to ſtand at the helm, ſhould not conſider what may expoſe him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may by its luſtre force envy to ſpeak behind. But, if ſecurity and repoſe are to be conſulted above all things; if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the *roſtrum*, of the Lacedaemonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace, then ſurely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford you a corner to retire to, where you may weave yourſelf the ſoft crown of tranquillity; as ſome of the philoſophers expreſs it. The love Nicias had for peace, was indeed a divine attachment, and his endeavours during his whole adminiſtration to put an end to the war, were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in ſo honourable a light, that Craſſus could not have been compared with him, though he had made the Caſpian ſea or the Indian ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheleſs, in a commonwealth which retains any ſentiments of virtue, he who has the lead, ſhould not give place for a moment to perſons of no principle; he ſhould entruſt no charge with thoſe who want capacity, nor place any confidence in thoſe who want honour. And Nicias certainly did this in raiſing Cleon to the command of the army: a man who had nothing to recommend him but his impu-

dence and his bawling in the roſtrum. On the other hand, I do not commend Craſſus for advancing to action, in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence: though his ambition had this excuſe, that he was afraid Pompey would come and ſnatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very abſurd and * mean-ſpirited. He would not give up to his enemy the honour and truſt of commander in chief while he could execute that charge with eaſe, and had good hopes of ſucceſs; but as ſoon as he ſaw it attended with great danger, he was willing to ſecure himſelf, though he expoſed the public by it. It was not thus Themiſtocles behaved in the Perſian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew muſt have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him by a ſum of money to give up his pretenſions. And Cato ſtood for the tribuneſhip, when he ſaw it would involve him in the greateſt trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general, when he had only to go againſt Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians; but if there was occaſion to fight with the Lacedaemonians, he put off his armour, and entruſted the ſhips, the men, the warlike ſtores, in ſhort, the entire direction of a war which required the moſt conſummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and raſhneſs of Cleon. In which he was not only unjuſt to himſelf and his own honour, but to the welfare and ſafety of his country. This made the Athenians ſend him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, againſt Syracuſe. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of ſucceſs, but a regard to his own eaſe and a want of ſpirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conqueſt of Sicily.

* The ſenſe requires, that we ſhould read *ſuum* not *ſuos*.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually againſt war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it, as the ableſt and beſt general they had. But Craſſus, though he was for ever aiming at ſuch a charge, never gained one, except in the war with the gladiators; and that only becauſe Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus's were abſent. This is the more remarkable, becauſe Craſſus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But, it ſeems, his beſt friends thought him (as the comic poet expreſſes it)

In all trades ſkill'd, except the trade of war.

However, this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little; his ambition never let them reſt, till they aſſigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias againſt his inclination; and it was againſt the inclination of the Romans, that Craſſus led them out. Craſſus involved his country in misfortunes; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheleſs, in this reſpect it is eaſier to commend Nicias than to blame Craſſus. The capacity and ſkill of the former as a general, kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the firſt that Sicily could not be conquered: The latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war, as an eaſy undertaking. In this he found himſelf ſadly deceived; yet his aim was great. While Caeſar was ſubduing the weſt, the Gauls, the Germans and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian ocean on the eaſt, and to conquer all Aſia; things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the ſame deſigns, and made the ſame attempts with Craſſus, their characters ſtood unimpeached both as to moderation and probity.

probity. If Craſſus was oppoſed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was oppoſed by the ſenate when he got Aſia for his province. And when Caeſar had routed three hundred thouſand Germans, Cato voted that he ſhould be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace. But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thankſgiving to the gods for fifteen days, and thought themſelves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered ſacrifices, if Craſſus could have ſent them an account from Babylon, that he was victorious; and if he had proceeded from thence through Media, Perſia, Hyrcania, Suſa and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces. For, according to Euripides, if juſtice muſt be violated, and men cannot ſit down quiet and contented with their preſent poſſeſſions, it ſhould not be for taking the ſmall town of Scandia, or razing ſuch a caſtle as Mende; nor yet for going in chace of the fugitive Eginetae, who like birds have retired to another country: the price of injuſtice ſhould be high; ſo ſacred a thing as right ſhould not be invaded for a trifling conſideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Craſſus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, ſeveral of Nicias's are very conſiderable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuſe. Nor were all his miſcarriages ſo many errors; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Craſſus committed ſo many errors, that fortune had no opportunity to ſhew him any favour; wherefore we need not ſo much wonder, that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, as that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As

As one of them paid the greateſt attention to divination, and the other entirely diſregarded it, and yet both periſhed alike, it is hard to ſay whether the obſervation of omens is a ſalutary thing or not. Nevertheleſs, to err on the ſide of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing, than to err through obſtinacy and preſumption.

Craſſus, however, was not ſo reproachable in his exit. He did not ſurrender himſelf, or ſubmit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes; but in yielding to the inſtances of his friends he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injuſtice of the barbarians. Whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondneſs for life, put himſelf in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baſer and more diſhonourable end.

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.